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South Africa To Resume Spanish Broadcasts to Africa, Latin America

34000590 London WEST AFRICA in English
4 Apr 88 p 617

[Text] Broadcasts in Spanish have resumed on Radio RSA (the external service of the South African Broadcasting Corporation).

The Johannesburg newspaper RAPPORT on 6 March quoted Sias de Kock, head of the new service, as saying: "For a long time now there has been a need for us to introduce a Spanish service, with Angola as the target.... This is especially so in view of the large number of Cuban troops in Angola and the growing influence of Spain in Africa.... We expect that these broadcasts, on a powerful 500kW transmitter, will also reach Equatorial

Guinea and most of the Spanish-speaking countries on the west coast of Africa."

The paper reported Fanus Venter, head of Radio RSA, as saying the station's broadcasts to Angola were part of "our aggressive new approach aimed at correcting distorted information spread abroad about South Africa.... We want to ensure that Radio RSA maintains its role as the top salesman for South Africa in the international community."

A transmission in Spanish announced as being for listeners in Central America and West Africa, has been heard at 2000-2055 gmt since 3 January. This new transmission is in addition to the existing Radio RSA service in Spanish for Latin America at 2300-0100 gmt.

/12913

New Trade Union Federation Launched for Eight Countries

34000589 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
12 Apr 88 p 5

[Article by Themba Molefe]

[Text] A new trade union federation representing about 700,000 transport workers in eight countries in southern sub-Africa has been launched following a workshop held in Swaziland.

Interim president of the Southern African Transport Unions Coordinating Council (Satucc), elected at the end of a five-day workshop in Mbabane over the Easter holiday is Mr Amos Mabuza, executive member of South Africa's Transport and Allied Workers Union, a Nactu affiliate.

The workshop was officially opened by Swaziland Minister of Labour and Public Services, Senator B.M. Nsi-bandze, and closed by secretary general of the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, Mr Jan Sithole.

The interim committee comprises Mr Mabuza, Mr Horacio Mula, Mozambique (first vice president); Mr Edwin Setlhare, Botswana (second vice president) and Mr Shakie Museve, Zimbabwe (secretary general).

The assistant general secretary is Mr Johannes Fakudze; Swaziland, and an additional member is Mr Pickett Matsamai of Lesotho.

Some of the recommendations and resolutions adopted at the workshop considered the growth and development of unions in the region and identified problems facing transport workers in Southern Africa as destabilisation, bandits in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, health and safety, overworked drivers, ill-developed roads, the harassment of drivers at border posts, the refusal of multinational companies to adhere to parent company policies and the International Labour Organisation standards.

Satucc, which has been charged with drafting a constitution and the formation of the Southern African Transport Workers Federation, is to call a larger launch conference to be held in Harare, Zimbabwe, not later than September 1988.

The Satucc workshop was sponsored by the African-American Labor Centre (AALC-AFL-CIO) with which it has pledged solidarity.

/12913

Upcoming Trade Agreement With USSR
34190107 Bamako L'ESSOR 18 Apr 88 p 1

[Text] It was learned last Friday according to official sources in Abidjan that the Ivory Coast and the Soviet Union will soon sign a trade agreement.

A trade delegation conducted by Oleg Rybakov, director of the African Department at the Soviet Ministry of Economic Relations visiting Abidjan was received in view of this agreement by the Ivorian Minister of Trade Nicolas Kouandy Angba.

"We are satisfied with the level of trade between our two countries," affirmed the Ivorian minister, recalling that the volume of trade had increased from 61 billion CFA francs in 1985 compared to 3 billion CFA francs in 1981.

Referring to the signing of the upcoming trade agreement, Angba indicated that it would permit the USSR to purchase in addition to cocoa and timber additional Ivorian products, notably coffee, pineapple and bananas.

Angba also wished to see an office of the Ivorian Foreign Trade Center in Moscow for all of East Europe as well as a representative of the Soviet Ministry of Economic Relations in Abidjan in order to facilitate contacts within the private sector.

Rybakov emphasized that the Ivory Coast remains the most important trade partner among underdeveloped countries. However he added, "some effort must be made to achieve more significant results."

The Ivory Coast and the USSR established their diplomatic ties at the beginning of 1986 following a long 18-year break in relations.

Libyan Delegation Participates in Third Party Congress
34190106 Bamako L'ESSOR in French 6 Apr 88 p 6

[Excerpts] Saturday morning, Deputy Secretary General of the UDPM [Democratic Union of Malian People] received, on behalf of the chief of state, the Libyan delegate Ibrahim Aboukzam, deputy-secretary of the Libyan Congress.

The delegation reaffirmed the friendship and brotherhood of the Libyan people and its support of Mali's development efforts. The Deputy Secretary-General M Boubacar Diallo thanked the Libyan emissaries for their participation at the meeting of the Third Congress of the UDPM. He expressed the wish to see more cooperation between Libya and Mali.

**Armed Forces Political Commissariat
Reorganization Announced**

34420123d Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
19 Mar 88 p 1

[Text] The National Political Commissioner of the Mozambique Armed Forces [FAM], Maj Gen Eduardo da Silva Nihia, announced yesterday in Maputo the reorganization of the Political Commissariat, whose work is scheduled to be carried out before the end of the first half of this year. He emphasized that this action will subsequently be extended to the various military units stationed throughout the nation.

Nihia was speaking at the close of the regional meeting of the political commissioners of the military units of the southern zone of the country. The meeting had been in session since last Tuesday in the nation's capital.

The Mozambican Army officer went on to say that it is the duty of all military personnel to strive to preserve the good image of the Armed Forces among the people. He said that we must be intolerant of those who bring death and poverty to the people.

Moreover, the final report read at the close of the meeting underscores the importance of intensifying the study and interiorization of political and party activities within the military units, with a view to heightening the combat morale, discipline, and organization of the Armed Forces, as well as their close ties with the people.

Concerning the preparations for the Fifth Congress of the FRELIMO Party, the report urges all party members, officers, sergeants, and soldiers to engage in activities that will contribute to the success of the event.

10992/08309

**Right-Wing Daily Dismisses RENAMO Defector
Statements**

34420128a Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese
29 Mar 88 p 21

[Excerpts] The last 2 weeks of March were marked in Mozambique by another outbreak of activity by the resistance in the central part of the country, where it had declined some weeks ago. An attack on the joint headquarters of the FRELIMO and Zimbabwe forces on the road connecting Chimoio with Tete, and the seizure of the government's position in Bandala in the so-called "Beira corridor," were the most prominent operations in that area. But in Inhambane Province, the guerrillas occupied Macuacua, and in Nampua Province, the town of Meconta; there with the peculiar feature of having authorized the orderly withdrawal of the foreign technicians seized in the recovery of the Nacala railway line.

These and several other operations by RENAMO in various parts of Mozambique, specifically, in the vicinity of the capital, with the associated seizures of weapons

and ammunition, seem to demonstrate that the military situation remains unchanged, and that the Harare government has increasingly more reason to complain of the futility of having sent to Mozambique an expeditionary corps which, according to an assessment published in THE NEW YORK TIMES, costs Zimbabwe \$1 million per day.

The police severity and the criteria followed by the FRELIMO Revolutionary Courts (so often scored and condemned by Amnesty International) also proved not to have changed: One such court imposed the penalty of 10 and 1/2 years in prison on the Australian missionary, Ian Gray, "for attacking the state's security," although it had been proven that there were no grounds for the charge of espionage leveled against him.

Ian Gray belongs to the religious organization "Shekineh Ministries," which, in fact, has given assistance both to RENAMO and to other similar movements in various parts of the world. But that assistance consists of sending them Bibles, which certainly does no harm to the government forces' action.

An Unexpected Celebrity

The military action launched by the guerrillas and the conduct of the Revolutionary Court which sentenced missionary Gray were eclipsed in the news by an unanticipated event: the defection to the FRELIMO camp of Paulo de Oliveira who, as of October of last year, had been rising as an outstanding member of RENAMO: first, in South Africa, working for the "Voice of Free Africa" radio program, and later, in Portugal, as spokesman, and, ultimately, for a few months, as delegate.

This move from one camp to the other intensified the speculative capacity of various commentators to the maximum. There were some who saw in it the culmination of an espionage effort expended by the aforementioned individual since his entry into the resistance cadres. There were also some who connected it with the arrival in Lisbon, for talks with the Portuguese military authorities, of a Mozambican delegation headed by the Armed Forces chief of staff, Gen Hama Thai. Based on this second hypothesis, the new managers of Paulo de Oliveira wanted to damage, not only those talks, but also the relations between Lisbon and Maputo. And those managers were either in the radical wing of FRELIMO (which, as everyone knows, is not dying of love for Gen Mama Thai), or in the secret services of one of the countries wishing to supplant a potential Portuguese influence on Mozambique.

In our view, the defection procedure has a considerable explanation (compounded by a disgusting lack of character) in a mercenary search for profit and a morbid concern for notoriety.

A Warning to the Resistance

Regardless of how much significance it was attempted to give them in Lisbon and Maputo, Oliveira's statements contained little or nothing sensational. One could readily calculate that he was aiming particularly at the former secretary general, Evo Fernandes, currently head of the studies department, and was bent on claiming that the Republic of South Africa is still giving support to RENAMO; because it was for that very reason that they gave him an opportunity to exhibit himself.

We must not forget that, in organizing this type of exhibition, FRELIMO has the domestic market primarily in mind. It is not seeking to harm the good relations that, after all, it retains with the Republic of South Africa, nor those that it has with Portugal. It only wants to divert Mozambican public opinion from the horizons to which the civil war is pointing, seeking to convince the public that all ills originate with foreign aid to the resistance.

This time, however, the role entrusted to Oliveira was more extensive, most likely at his own initiative, since we know the tendency of the "contrite" to prove capable of saying anything, and something else: The new "FRELIMO member" cited the backing for RENAMO in the Federal Republic of Germany and in American organizations such as the Heritage Foundation (perhaps because he could not recall others); and dwelt at length on the description of the South African support prior to the signing of the N'Komati Accord. But the only one who would be surprised by these and other "revelations" is one who has never read any publications specializing in African affairs, and who is entirely east of the Mozambican conflict.

Hence, the objective statements made by Oliveira in Maputo were banalities, mere banalities; banalities mixed with some foolishness, such as his blaming the South Africans for knocking down transmission poles at the Cabora Bassa dam; and with some poisonously subjective insinuations, including that of giving a reminder that Col Fernando Ramos was at the RENAMO base in Phalabora when Orlando Cristina was assassinated.

The international reaction to Oliveira's statements was the proper reaction to banalities. Not even Gen Hama Thai attached great importance to them, as he indicated before leaving Lisbon to return to Maputo. It cannot be claimed that Oliveira's desertion is, for FRELIMO, the counterpart of the desertion of his former Mozambican ambassador to Lisbon, Joao Ataide; because the latter was what Oliveira has never been: a naturally outstanding personality.

But, while the "Oliveira case" should not be blown up, it should not be minimized, either. His having remained in RENAMO as long as he did remain, and with the duties

that he performed, leads us to believe that the Mozambican National Resistance has neglected fundamental areas of its internal defense. Moreover, the difference in the way in which the "Oliveira case" was handled by the RENAMO spokesmen in Portugal and in the United States prompts us to believe in the existence of a diversity of opinion, whereby only FRELIMO stands to gain. For these and other reasons, the various resistance movements against the Communists in Afghanistan, although having confronted the Soviet Armed Forces with the courage that is known, are now unable to come to agreement on how to take advantage of the Soviet withdrawal.

2909

Quelimane Port Handles More Cargo

34420123c Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
19 Mar 88 p 1

[Article by Anselmo Tembe]

[Text] The port of Quelimane, in Zambezia Province, surpassed by 22 percent the target established for cargo handling during 1987, NOTICIAS was told by Armando Oliveira, provincial director of transportation and communications.

The results achieved by the port of Quelimane are due basically to the effort of the workers under his direction, who—despite the obsolete state of the equipment—responded positively to the objectives of the PRE [Economic Reconstruction Program] and of the Emergency Program.

According to Armando Oliveira, the port of Quelimane last year handled approximately 200,000 tons of diverse cargo destined principally to supply the victims of the war and famine in Zambezia Province.

Oliveira said the volume of cargo handled exceeded by 22 percent the target of approximately 163,000 tons per year.

"The port had to be reorganized in order to respond effectively to the detouring of ships that were arriving with donations for the population of Zambezia Province," he emphasized.

Reorganization of the port made it possible for the daily average of 190 tons of cargo unloaded to be increased to between 400 and 600 tons, which is close to the port's daily capacity, Armando Oliveira said.

The Port of Quelimane received a total of 163 national and foreign ships last year—a figure far in excess of the 90 initially forecast.

"Fortunately," Oliveira explained, "we had no problem transshipping the cargo received, for every time a ship arrived we mobilized vehicles to transport it."

Our source said that the process of rehabilitating the port is under way, with financing from the Italian Government. The project consists of providing the Port of Quelimane with equipment it needs to enable it to handle cargo efficiently.

Although he did not disclose the sums to be spent on rehabilitation of the port, Armando Oliveira emphasized that some materials will be arriving throughout 1988.

With only two cranes, the Port of Quelimane is used exclusively for the transshipment of merchandise to and from Zambezia Province, Oliveira said.

As is known, Zambezia Province was invaded by the armed bandits in the pay of Pretoria who attempted to divide the country in half. As a consequence of the invasion, the province has many displaced persons who need help.

"Because of this situation," the source concluded, "last year there was a greater influx of ships carrying international aid."

10992/08309

SOS To Expand Activities Nationwide

34420123b Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
19 Mar 88 p 3

[Text] The nongovernmental organization SOS will expand nationwide its activities in respect to the care of children who are in a difficult situation. This will be done pursuant to an agreement signed to this effect yesterday in Maputo between Rainer Kruger, regional director of that organization for southern Africa, and Filipe Mandlate, national director in the Ministry of Cooperation. Present at the signing of the document were Mozambican Ambassador to Zimbabwe Francisco Madeira and also the director of SOS projects in Mozambique.

Under the terms of the agreement SOS will expand its activities to other areas of the nation, beginning with Maputo, where it plans to start—also this year—construction of 15 homes for abandoned children. In addition to these homes, other important social infrastructures will be created in support of children whose situation is difficult, including two schools—one elementary and the other secondary—for a total of approximately 1,500 students.

Rainer Kruger said that after Maputo, Beira will probably be the next scene of development for the SOS projects.

SOS is currently participating in important projects in Tete Province, where it has already built a village for 31 children whose situation is difficult; they are being cared for by five "social mothers." SOS is also completing

construction in that province of two schools—one elementary and the other secondary—to serve a total of approximately 1,200 students.

A total of 28 Mozambican teachers and other workers have already been assigned to these institutions. A child-care center for 140 children, and a collective farm of 40 workers to feed them, are other projects that have been carried out by SOS in Tete Province.

Speaking at the signature ceremony, Rainer Kruger said he was pleased with this step that has been taken, which he feels will result in greater cooperation between his organization and governmental entities.

Kruger reaffirmed that the objective of his organization throughout the world is to lend assistance to children who are in a difficult situation by creating for them the basic conditions that they require for their total development. He expressed thanks for the understanding he found on the part of the Mozambican leaders with whom he had held working sessions since Tuesday, the day of his arrival in Maputo.

Mozambique welcomes the SOS with open arms and regards the contribution of that organization as essential for the solution of a problem as difficult as that of the abandoned children, Director Filipe Mandlate declared shortly after signing the agreement.

SOS was founded in Austria in 1949 to aid abandoned children throughout the world. At the present time it is carrying out a total of more than 740 projects in a variety of countries.

10992/08309

EEC Funds Basic Science Studies at Mondlane University

34420123a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
4 Mar 88 p 8

[Text] Eduardo Mondlane University will institutionalize the teaching of Basic Sciences pursuant to the signing yesterday in Maputo of an agreement between the People's Republic of Mozambique [RPM] and the European Economic Community whereby the EEC will provide funding in the amount of 2.3 million ECUS (approximately \$2.6 million, equal to more than 1.17 million meticals).

Based on the available funds, teachers will be recruited, supplies acquired, and the necessary construction carried out with a view to teaching the basic sciences at the university.

The agreement was signed by Minister of Commerce Aranda da Silva, and by Antonio Marongiu, EEC representative in Mozambique, in the presence of Rui Baltazar, rector of Eduardo Mondlane University.

Aranda da Silva took the occasion to say that the agreement was concluded within the framework of the existing overall cooperation between our country and the EEC.

He declared that the training of Mozambican cadres in this field plays an important role in the socioeconomic development of the RPM. This development, he said, "is possible only through raising the technical and scientific level of the national cadres."

The minister of commerce said that Eduardo Mondlane University has the responsibility for creating the conditions necessary for prompt implementation of this project.

EEC representative Antonio Marongiu declared in his speech that his organization is participating in a number of projects in Mozambique, especially in the area of transportation and communications, vocational training, and agriculture, among others.

He said he is hopeful that institutionalization of the teaching of the basic sciences would develop the same dynamism as the Nacala Corridor rehabilitation project, in which the EEC is a participant.

10992/08309

SWAPO Conference Adopts Plan To Revitalize Organization

34000580a Winthoek *THE NAMIBIAN* in English
4 Mar 88 p 14

[Article by Gwen Lister: "No Change To Politburo But Revitalisation Is in the Offing"]

[Text] Approximately 30 branches were represented at the Extraordinary Consultative Conference of Swapo over the weekend, which included 130 delegates; the largest conference of its kind in the history of the organisation inside the country, according to Swapo representatives. At the conference, a plan of action was adopted to revitalise the structures of the organisation (including branches, districts and regions and the Politburo itself); and while five people were nominated, out of whom two would be co-opted to the Politburo to fill existing vacancies, the present composition of the Politburo remained intact.

By the end of the month the Swapo Vice President, Mr Hendrik Witbooi, would co-opt two of the five nominees to the Politburo to fill existing vacancies in the Legal Affairs and Information departments.

In the meantime a decision was taken by the conference that an election could only take place at a national congress of the movement.

Representatives came from all over the country, including Karasburg, Luderitz, Rundu, and the Swapo Womens Council and Swapo Youth League, were well-represented. (A large delegation of Swapo attended the mass burial in Oshakati over the weekend as well.)

The conference also "reaffirmed and dedicated themselves to the mobilisation of the Namibian people and their allies to contribute effectively towards the realisation of national independence and autonomy" in the words of a Politburo member.

The Politburo was retained intact, but the possibility of a slight reshuffle of portfolios is not to be excluded once the new Politburo members are co-opted by the end of the month.

Mr Dan Tjongarero, Vice Chairman, issued a statement late this week on behalf of the conference and Politburo, which read as follows:

"We, 130 representatives of Swapo, meeting at the Extraordinary Consultative Conference of Swapo from 27-28 February 1988, having looking at our current situation in Namibia, and the obstacles to our much-desired independence, thus resolved:

—to express our unwavering confidence in the leadership of Swapo under our committed and courageous leader, Comrade Sam Nujoma;

—to re-affirm Swapo's unswerving commitment to the implementation of Un Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978;

—also to re-state Swapo's willingness to conclude a ceasefire with South Africa at anytime;

—to strongly denounce the perpetual obstacle of Cuban linkage, extraneously introduced by the Washington-Pretooria axis, as an excuse to hide the neo-colonial and imperialistic devices;

—to demand the unconditional withdrawal of the South African troops from Namibia and the dismantling of the so-called local units, aimed at preserving a civil war in post-independence Namibia;

—to condemn the strongest possible language the involuntary conscription of Namibians into a foreign occupation army, taking note that the SWATF is part and parcel of this very same occupation army;

Having also examined South Africa's genocidal war in the battle for the 'hearts and minds' of the Namibian people, we took cognisance of the numerous atrocities committed in the name of 'protecting the Namibian people from communism', the latest of which is the outrageous bomb blast that took the lives of so many innocent people at Oshakati on February 19, leaving numerous others to be maimed for life. We join ranks with the progressive humankind the world over in condemning this very barbaric deed and in calling for an independent inquiry into the whole matter. We also strongly reject those puppets who have sought to gain political credit from the death of so many Namibians.

We further affirm our unshakable commitment to working ceaselessly to attain our independence, conscious of the sacrifices that are being exacted from us.

Further reaffirming our dedication of the year 1988 at the Year of Unity and Mass Mobilisation, and aware of our strong position as the vanguard of our national liberation struggle; acutely conscious of the enemy's persistent attempts at dividing the Namibian people through the deliberate promotion of tribalism, as well as through the attempt to permeate our movement with informers, we resolve:

—to call upon our allies to join us into the hastening the dawn of Namibia's independence;

—to call upon all Namibians (including the so-called whites and coloureds) who are deliberately alienated from us to join the struggle for liberation and thus make their lasting contribution in ridding Namibia from the evil of South African racism and neo-colonialism;

—to remind the collaborators, who would in any case remain in Namibia, as well as the informers of their patriotic duty to Namibia, and to call upon them to desist from selling Namibia and the Namibians to the racist regime.

Aware of the mass detention of Namibians, especially during the past months, we demand the unconditional release of political prisoners and detainees, including Comrade Jason Angula, who is a member of the Swapo Politburo.

Taking cognisance of the worsening situation in the region as a result of racist South Africa's persistent destabilisation of the Front Line States, especially Angola and Mozambique—all states that have become victims of South Africa's expansionist escapades. We pledge our solidarity with them.

We also pledge our support and solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the African National Congress of South Africa.

We join our brothers and sisters in South Africa in demanding the lifting of the "state of emergency", the release of all political prisoners and detainees including Nelson Mandela, the lifting of restrictions imposed on the organisations and the legalisation of the ANC.

Finally we call upon the international community to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa to secure the implementation of Resolution 435 and the democratisation of South Africa."

/9274

RSA Said To Require Apartheid as Basis for Constitution

34000580b Windhoek THE WINDHOEK
ADVERTISER in English 6 Apr 88 pp 1, 3

[Article by Brendan Seery: "Apartheid Is Bottom Line"]

[Text] Apartheid must be the bottom line in any constitutional arrangements in Namibia so long as South Africa has anything to do with the territory.

This much emerged chillingly clear when Pretoria's Administrator General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, delivered the opening address to the Caprivi Legislative Assembly in Katima Mulilo.

South Africa finds it "totally unacceptable" that there should be any political dispensation other than one built on ethnic lines, Mr Pienaar said.

His words have sent shock-waves through the six-party Transitional Government and have spawned the most serious crisis the administration has faced since it took office in June 1985.

Both Swanu leader Mr Moses Katjjuongua (Minister of Health) and Mr Andreas Shipanga (Minister of Mines) have threatened to pull out of the government if Pretoria maintain an "apartheid at all costs" stance.

Despite their empty threats on previous occasions to quit the South African-appointed government, both Mr Katjjuongua and Mr Shipanga are closer now than at any other time to giving effect to their warnings of "dire consequences". Both maintain they joined the Transitional Government to begin to dismantle the entrenched system of racial discrimination and not, as Mr Shipanga put it, "to sleep with apartheid".

At issue are two South African Government proclamations—AG 8 of 1980 and R 101 of 1985.

AG 8 is the decree which set up the current, apartheid-style system of separate ethnic administrations, while R 101 is the edict which set up the Transitional Government in 1985. Included in Proclamation R101 is a Declaration of Fundamental Rights drawn up by the six parties of the government, who were formerly loosely allied in the Multi-Party Conference.

The Supreme Court in Windhoek declared last month, in an advisory legal opinion, that the AG 8 system of administration was in conflict with the Declaration of Fundamental Rights, because it discriminated against some Namibians purely on the basis of skin colour. Specifically, the court found that whites enjoy far more in financial and social service benefits (including health, education and pensions) than does any other ethnic community.

Four of the six parties in the Transitional Government—Swanu, Mr Shipanga's Swapo-Democrats, the DTA group of Mr Dirk Mudge and the coloured Labour Party—welcomed the court's finding. The remaining two parties—The National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) and the Rehoboth Free Democracy Party—rejected it.

South Africa has long supported the NP-SWA in its attempts to defend the system of ethnic representation as the best way of guaranteeing "white minority rights" under a future black government. Indeed, the NP-SWA's proposed draft constitution makes provision for the establishment of the AG 8-type ethnic structures that Mr Pienaar was referring to in Katima Mulilo.

The majority group in the government proposed, by contrast, a constitution which would scrap ethnic divisions and revolve around one-man-one vote democracy.

The question now upper-most in everybody's minds is: does this all mean the beginning of the end for the Transitional Government?

Mr Katjiuongua and Mr Shipanga will find their already limited and damaged credibility evaporating if they remain in a situation where the apartheid status quo is maintained.

Mr Mudge adopts a similar view, having campaigned vigorously against AG 8.

The Labour Party would also be likely to go along with its three allies. If all three quite the government, South Africa would be left with only the NP-SWA and the Rehoboth group and the hollow echoes of the trumpeting of the Transitional Government as one of "national unity".

Yet there are indications that South Africa has been casting around for other willing partners to play the "own administration game". Pretoria has pointed out on a number of occasions that the parties of the Transitional Government have not been elected and would probably command little support. Also, the majority of the territory's population in the Owambo region have no representation in the current set-up, Pretoria has said.

Mr Katjiuongua and Mr Shipanga clearly fear that South Africa will either abrogate agreements and commitments in terms of R 101, or seek to amend either that proclamation or AG 8 to cut the ground from under the feet of the left-leaning groups in the Transitional Government.

Of course there is always the option—which Pretoria has exercised before in previous constitutional experiments in Namibia—of "pulling the plug" altogether on the Windhoek politicians and starting again from scratch with those more amenable to the South African point of view.

In any event, it is clear that Pretoria has now said once and for all it will brook no argument in its policy that ethnicity is of paramount importance in any political dispensation in Namibia.

/9274

Pienaar: RSA Committed To Protect Group Rights Advocates

Affirms RSA Involvement

34000579 Windhoek *THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER* in English 23 Mar 88 pp 1, 3

[Article by Bernhard von Seydlitz]

[Text] Windhoek: Although South Africa was not "married" to Proclamation AG 8/80, it was committed to protect those who wanted group rights. For this purpose regional elections could be held. Group rights could be accommodated in these elections, the Administrator General, Mr Louis Pienaar, said this morning.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr Pienaar said that he had not attacked the advisory opinion given by the Windhoek Supreme Court on Proc AG 8. Although he differs with the Court's opinion in a personal capacity, he respects its findings. These findings will stand until such time another Court might pronounce differently.

The AG did not want to elaborate further. However, he mooted the possibility of legislation to overrule the Court's opinion.

SA Interference

Although it was correct to say that South Africa repeatedly had assured the people of SWA/Namibia that they could decide their own future, one should differentiate between the present (interim period) and the stage at which this country would obtain its independence, Pienaar explained.

He gave the assurance that South Africa would not interfere in Namibia's internal matters once the last phase of independence (whether by way of Resolution 435 or "another agreement") had been reached.

In the meantime one had to accept that South Africa was indeed involved in SWA/Namibian affairs: defence, finance and the AG.

The AG emphasised that as long as South Africa was involved "so intimately" it would have to be considered to be a partner on the way to independence and a partner in stable government in terms of which democracy can flourish and expand to involve the majority of the population.

- To the extent that South Africa considers itself to be a partner of this country, it demands to be consulted in matters of security and stability.

The AG said that he was not involved in the day-to-day running of the country as the TGNU was doing this "quite efficiently."

Group Rights

His interests lay in broadening the democratic base in this country. SA would assert itself as far as the protection of group rights was concerned, he added.

As far as a constitution for SWA/Namibia was concerned, the AG reminded the press corps that the South African Parliament was the final legislator. Proclamation R101 did not authorise the TGNU to write its own constitution.

It is therefore clear that this country will have to negotiate with South Africa about a final constitution, the AG lectured.

- He said that South Africa was not prepared to depend

upon individual rights as proposed by the majority parties in the Interim Government. His country would insist on a constitutional framework which protected group rights. This, he said, was not in conflict with Article 9 of the Bill of Fundamental Human Rights.

However, it was not South Africa's standpoint to force group rights "down everybody's throat". The new dispensation would have to provide for those who desire to "move ethnically" and for those who wanted to "move non-ethnically", Pienaar said.

- He added that ethnic groupings as they had been provided for in AG 8 would not necessarily have to be continued. One had to follow the principle of free association.

The possibility of accommodating both trains of thought in the second-tier structures was being investigated. Delicate negotiations with politicians at Cabinet and second-tier level were under way, Pienaar said without giving further details.

Regional Elections

The AG also foresees regional governments within which group rights can be accommodated.

He said that AG 8/80 and other legislation had given certain vested interests to the different population groups. It would therefore be wrong to take away these rights by way of legislation without giving the affected groups an opportunity of expressing themselves on this issue.

If new second-tier authorities should be created, the existing ones should "have their say." The AG hinted at the possibility of the tabling of such an alternative within the near future.

If, however, nothing were forthcoming shortly, leaders would be elected by way of "one or other form of election." These leaders would then negotiate the composition of the new-style second-tier authorities.

Grass Roots Democracy

The AG gave the assurance that neither he nor the SA government had the intention of abrogating the powers of the TGNU or preparing its demise.

The SA government desires the extension of democracy, not only by way of holding elections, but also by exposing the local population to the values of Western democracy (free enterprise, private property, freedom of association and speech).

Although the war is being won on the military front, Mr Pienaar said, the fight for democracy still had to be won.

He said that he foresaw the possibility of holding non-racial elections on municipal and second-tier level on a country-wide basis, a kind of "democracy from below."

Editorial Opposes Pienaar Views

34000579 Windhoek *THE NAMIBIAN* in English
18 Mar 88 p 11

[Editorial: "On Pienaar's Pronouncements"]

[Text] The Administrator General's reiteration this week of a viewpoint often expressed by those in the South African Government hierarchy that the 'ethnic' dispensation has to stay, once again illustrates the act that the colonial power does not intend to loose its grip on Namibia. It further serves to illustrate the futility of so-called governments appointed in this country by South Africa with the pretence of own rule of Namibia.

Mr Pienaar, who had just concluded discussions with the South African State President, Mr P. W. Botha, prior to his pronouncements in Caprivi, seems also to have proved beyond doubt that his Government does not intend to implement Resolution 435, even if their pre-conditions concerning a Namibia settlement were adhered to. Mr Pienaar's message to what he calls "our native 435-pluggers" also proves the South African Government's lack of commitment to a settlement plan which ostensibly carries its stamp of approval. Mr Pienaar added that he would say 'yes' to independence but 'no' to independence under any circumstances.

We wish to remind Mr Pienaar that it is quite evident to even the most politically-conservative observer that the majority of the people of this country are desirous of the implementation of a settlement plan which he now places in the category of "independence under any circumstances". It is only the South African Government and its appointees who balk at the implementation of the settlement plan; and this is primarily due to their fear of a Swapo victory at the polls.

We wish also to remind Mr Pienaar that his Government has, on several occasions, appointed in Namibia a government of its choice in order to circumvent an election under international auspices. These 'governments' have failed time and again.

A South Africa-appointed government in Namibia will never attain the support of the people or international credibility. It will continue to remain a time-wasting and expensive exercise.

Apartheid (disguised as 'ethnicity') must die in both Namibia and South Africa. South African attempts to guarantee 'minority rights' in a future constitutional dispensation in Namibia may possibly succeed in the

short-term due to the failure of the interim government to practice what it preaches; but such a dispensation cannot continue indefinitely.

The obsession with 'ethnicity' and 'minority rights' must disappear before any fundamental change can be brought about in Namibia.

For those (and this includes the interim government itself) who believe that Namibia has 'self-government,' let them think again: South Africa is still very much in control in Namibia and intends to remain as such in the immediate future.

/9274

Babangida Restructures NNPC in Bid to Diversify
34000584c Lagos NEWSWATCH in English
4 Apr 88 pp 15-18

[Article by Soji Akinrinade with Stephen Agwudagwu, Joseph Ode, Abiola Oloke, Soni Ehi-Asuelimen, Israel Wilson Akpabio and Chris Ekam]

[Text] Rilwanu Lukman, Nigeria's petroleum resources minister, broke the news late January this year. Nigeria, like other members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, OPEC, he said, would now invest in refineries outside its shores. Last week, President Ibrahim Babangida, at the commissioning of the Linear Alkyl Benzene, LAB, plant in Kaduna, put the full weight of his government behind this new policy. He said that the Nigerian National Petroleum Company, NNPC, had been mandated to "pursue vigorously the on-going negotiations with foreign concerns to acquire equity interests in a number of refineries as well as outlets for downstream products sales."

Babangida said further that arrangements had been completed with some prospective partners "for the refining of agreed quantities of Nigerian crude oil" on which the NNPC would be guaranteed a share of profits. What both the president and his oil minister did not say is that the Whitegate Refinery, located in County Cork in the Republic of Ireland, may, indeed, be the first company to operate such an agreement with Nigeria.

As NEWSWATCH reported last February (NEWSWATCH, 15 February), the NNPC had all but concluded an agreement with the refinery which is managed by the Irish National Petroleum Company. The refinery was damaged by fire in 1979 and part of the deal that Nigeria was working out was to seek a loan of between \$200 million and \$350 million from Citicorp, an American bank based in New York, to upgrade and refurbish the plant. Many industry sources now say that the impression they formed, following the president's speech last week, was that an agreement must have been concluded on the Whitegate refinery.

The disclosure by Babangida on downstream investment is in itself an evidence that NNPC's attempts at diversification have begun to gather a lot of momentum. There is no greater evidence of this than the commissioning of the phase 1 of the petrochemical plants at both Ekpan, in Bendel State and Kaduna, in Kaduna State. First to be commissioned on 18 March were the Ekpan carbon black/polypropylene plants, both based on American technology but constructed by both Daewoo, a Korean firm and DSC, a German firm, at a cost of N425 million. Three days later on 21 March, the LAB plant in Kaduna, also based on American technology which cost Nigeria "around N600 million," as Lukman put it, was also commissioned.

It was a happy ending to a long story of broken promises. Even though studies were carried out on the plants in 1979 and the plants were planned for completion in 1984, there were delays and various types of bureaucratic problems which contributed to the snail speed at which the projects moved. Foundation stones were not laid until late 1984 by Professor Tam David-West, the former oil minister. Mechanical work was not completed until November 1986.

Delay in the commissioning of the Ekpan plant was blamed by Lukman on problems at the Warri refinery from which the plant was to derive its raw materials, while Aret Adams said last year that it resulted because the licensors of the project from Britain and United States had not inspected the facilities in order to conduct test runs.

But as NEWSWATCH reported in January (NEWSWATCH, 18 January), the postponements were really because the NNPC needed time to remedy some fault in the plant. However, NEWSWATCH was informed last week that the delays were also caused because of internal disagreement over the corporation's priorities. "Construction work at the Ekpan petrochemical industry was far ahead of the one in Kaduna. But we had to slow down the pace at Warri for political reasons," an official of the NNPC said.

Now that the tortoise has finally reached the post, the plants at Ekpan are expected to produce 18,000 metric tonnes of carbon black annually and 35,000 metric tonnes of polypropylene. Carbon black, according to the NNPC, is made from decanted oil, a residue product of the Warri refinery. The product is particularly useful to tyre manufacturers and other rubber industries in making tubes, tyres, hoses, fan belts, conveyor belts, gaskets, footwear, etc. As for polypropylene, it is the end product of an extraction of propylene from the liquified petroleum gas, LPG, which is also obtained from the Warri refinery. "Its end uses," says the NNPC, are as follows: "woven sacks for packaging grains, bottle crates, chair tack covers, hypodermic syringes, jerry cans, cups, plates, food and drug packaging containers, auto components (battery casing, fascia panel, hoses), ropes, yarns, textiles, fishing nets, floor carpets (tufts and backing), film wrappers, prayer mats, geotextiles (used for road stabilisation and erosion control)."

The LAB plant will produce linear alkyl benzene and such byproducts as benzene, kero solvent and heavy alkylates. The main inputs required in the production of LAB are linear olefines, obtainable from kerosene and benzene which are, in turn, obtainable from naphtha, a product of the reformat. The main ingredients are available in abundance at the Kaduna refinery. The products from the plant would be used in the detergents, lubrication and paints industries. For example, linear alkyl benzene would be useful in the production of powdered and liquid detergent, while heavy alkylate would be useful in the production of transformer oil,

thermal fluids, lubricating oil and greases. Kero solvent should be used for insecticides, paints and varnishes, degreasers, polishes for shoes, floors, furniture and metal cleaners. Apart from the manufacture of LAB benzene can also be used in the production of aromatic solvent and aviation gasoline.

NEWSWATCH was told last January that the NNPC's petrochemicals section in Port Harcourt had already written letters to various manufacturers asking them to place orders for the products to be produced by the plants. The response has been very good. However, the plants are expected to satisfy more than the local market. They are expected to export their products. NNPC's estimates that apart from saving at least \$6.813 million in the importation of carbon black, Nigeria also stands to make an equal sum, \$6.813 million, from the exportation of the product. Whereas 18,000 metric tonnes of carbon black is expected to be produced yearly, local consumption is put at only 9,000 metric tonnes. The remaining half would go to the export market.

The state of affairs gave President Babangida obvious satisfaction last week. He said in Kaduna that with the commissioning, the nation had "taken one more giant step in her journey towards self reliance in the local sourcing of industrial raw materials."

That may well be so. However, all the three plants still have varying degrees of problems. For the Ekan plants, their problem is the Warri refinery, the source of their raw materials. The catalytic cracking unit of the refinery, which should supply feeds to the petrochemical complex, has been having problems for a long time. Three licensors of the petrochemical plants recommended that the Warri refinery be pulled down and another, based on their own technology, built in its place. NNPC refused to accept the recommendation. Rather, it commissioned an independent consultant to look into the Warri refinery. Its recommendations was the same: pull down the refinery. NEWSWATCH was told that the NNPC stuck to its guns and, instead of pulling down the complex, decided to do what it called "debottlenecking" of the refinery. And although much repair work has been done and the petrochemical plants can get their feeds, there is fear that the ability of the refinery to continue to deliver the feeds for a long period is suspect.

As for the LAB plant in Kaduna, NEWSWATCH was told that one of its major problems is the lack of a separate medical unit. The complex still uses the medical facility of the NNPC in Kaduna. Considering the high toxic gas and fumes that would be released in the production process, there is fear that the Kaduna refinery medical unit is too far from the LAB plant to serve any useful purpose in an emergency. According to sources, one of the preconditions given by Universal Oil Products of the United States of America for the operation of the petrochemical plant is that there should be a 24-hour medical service on site. As at now, the plant depends on the Kaduna refinery even for simple first aid measures.

M.W.K. Tamuno, the LAB plant's project manager, told NEWSWATCH that "the hazardous nature of this factory demands an efficient medical cover," adding that "the first five minutes of an accident is very critical for medical attention because beyond this time, lack of medical attention may lead to instant death." However, some measures are being taken to protect personnel, equipment and the environment. H₂S monitors have been mounted at strategic points to warn personnel about any escape of H₂S gas into the atmosphere. There is also a reliable emergency shut down system in case of leaks; a closed benzene drain system and a flushing system for all pumps handling benzene.

The multimillion naira complex is also battling with security. A planning committee of the petrochemical plant recommended 50 security staff. NEWSWATCH was, however, informed that so far only 18 have been recruited. It is not known whether 32 more would be hired. On a visit to the plant in January, Lukman was quoted as saying "this expensive national asset needs protection."

However, the commissioning of the petrochemical plants is, indeed, a great achievement for Nigeria. In the area of local production of raw materials, the achievements could be spectacular. And Babangida, not one to miss an opportunity to consolidate the gains of his government's structural adjustment programme, used the commissioning of the LAB plant in Kaduna to inform and appeal to detergent manufacturers to switch from using the imported branched alkyl benzene to LAB produced in Kaduna. Not only that, he gave them up to the end of the year to do so. "Thereafter, government will ban the use of the branched alkyl benzene type, BAB," he said.

More importantly, the commissioning also gave Nigerians an insight into the nation's efforts at diversification. For example, the president announced what now seems to be a new policy on investments in the oil sector. As he said in Kaduna, phase II of the petrochemical programme would, unlike the first which was financed by the government, be financed by local industrial and institutional investors, as well as through joint-venture participation by foreign interests. He said: "In fact, this administration would prefer a tripartite arrangement between local individual interests, local financial institutions and foreign investors." Phase II, which would be the Eleme petrochemical complex in Port Harcourt, will consist of plants for the manufacture of polystyrene, polypropylene, polyester chips, polyvinyl chloride, polystyrene benzene toluene, xylene and other related products.

As part of the diversification effort, a fourth refinery, now being constructed in Port Harcourt, is expected to be completed before the end of this year and its products should be available in the market by the first quarter of 1989.

Said Babangida last week Monday: "When this happens, Nigeria will become a net exporter of petroleum products. These exports will be the vehicle that will launch the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation into the international market. By so doing, Nigeria, along with its counterparts in the OPEC, will be marketing petroleum products." This is just as well. Petroleum products and other downstream investments have become handy weapons for many OPEC members to cushion the effects of the downward spiral of oil prices. They are not subject to OPEC's pricing mechanisms. And since Nigeria has been more susceptible to the vagaries of the oil market, diversification is a wise move. Unlike many of its OPEC members, it relies solely on foreign exchange from the export of crude oil.

Contrary to forecasts last year that oil prices would stabilise at \$18 a barrel during the first quarter of the year, prices have, indeed, fallen by about four and a half dollars so far. This means oil sold for less than \$14 a barrel last week. In real term, it means if the situation continues for much longer, Nigeria may find itself in a situation where its estimated foreign exchange earnings this year would be off-target. The budget, as explained by Chu Okongwu, the minister of finance and economic planning, early this year, was based on \$16 a barrel.

Kuwait, a member of OPEC, for instance, would be able to withstand this price shock better. It already owns nearly 20 percent of the British Petroleum, BP. Not only that, the tiny country with one of the highest standards of living in the world, is also investing in American companies, including Du Pont, IBM, Ford and West Germany's Deutsche Bank. It has sunk about \$2 billion into investments in Madrid, Spain, since 1986. Conservative estimates put Kuwaiti investments world-wide at about \$200 billion (N800 billion). It owns 14 percent of West German Daimler-Benz, 24.9 percent of Hoechst and 20 percent of the mining giant, Metallgesellschaft. It has also bought most of the extensive European oil refining and marketing operations of Gulf Oil. In actual fact, crude oil may not fetch Kuwait more than \$7 billion this year, but its investments are expected to fetch at least \$9 billion.

Market analysts now see Nigeria's move to buy shares in refineries abroad and market petroleum products internationally as the best approach towards diversification. But they are by no means unanimous in their approval. Some of them support petrochemical plants and the building of more refineries with export potential, but are wary of Nigeria's attempt to buy shares in the Irish refinery.

David-West, former minister, whose policy is now being reversed, does not support investments in refineries abroad. He told NEWSWATCH last week that countries like Kuwait have succeeded because they control oil from the ground to the pump and, as a result, are in control of their investments. According to him, the plan may not be all that wise even though it appears sound on the surface. It may be difficult for Nigeria to make much

gains by it. His fears are based on the fact that too much money would be spent on refurbishing some of these refineries, but Nigeria would not be in a good position to monitor effectively how it is spent. "We don't have excess expertise to go and monitor the activities of these refineries," he said.

He said that the money to be spent on refurbishing the plants could be spent in Nigeria for new refineries in which the nation would have near total control. "We can diversify by building another export-oriented refinery, if we want to, or use the existing refineries for that purpose," David-West said.

C.S. Adewunmi, chairman of the Cotgas Installation Limited, also shares David-West's fears. He told NEWSWATCH that the government has to do its homework very well before investing in another country "where we don't have control over what happens. Once you don't have control, you just have to be very cautious."

Nevertheless, Nigeria seems set on a course that could, once and for all, remove from its name the derisive label "OPEC's weak link." What may further help Nigeria is the effort now being made by the NNPC to get the Liquefied Natural Gas, LNG, project on stream. The project has been a pipe dream for several years because of the inability to find a market for the project. However, now that the NNPC is in partnership with Shell, Agip and Elf oil companies, good progress is being made.

According to President Babangida, the commitment to deliver LNG to the European market in 1995 is realistic. There is a move to replace the present LNG working committee, comprising nominees from the four participants, with a project company. The company would be expected to nurture the project to fruition. Once the LNG plants are completed, they will have a total installed capacity of 4.6 million tonnes yearly.

If all these indicate a changing face of the petroleum industry in Nigeria, the changes currently going on at the NNPC are no less important. The signals for the changes were given in Kaduna last week when Babangida, at the commissioning of the LAB plant, assigned new roles and said it had been re-organised to become a commercially integrated international oil company.

The NNPC will, as Babangida explained, "now engage in exploration, production, processing, transportation and marketing of crude oil and gas, including their products and derivatives. From now onwards, the NNPC will be financially autonomous in its operations and its procedures will be such as to ensure efficiency and profitability."

The form that the re-organisation would take was finally spelt out by the NNPC's public affairs manager, Alex Nwokedi, last week. He told journalists at a press conference called by the corporation that under the new arrangement, that the NNPC has been restructured into

three main areas of responsibility: corporate services, including finance, administration and personnel, technology and legal matters; operations, encompassing exploration and production, gas, manufacturing, petrochemicals and international trading activities; and the national petroleum investment management services, PIMS, which is expected to coordinate crude oil marketing activities. The first two areas, corporate services and operations, will be headed by deputy managing directors; M.A. Olorunfemi, for corporate services, and M.S. Bello, for operations. The PIMS would be put under a coordinator.

Furthermore, the re-organisation will involve the establishment of 11 subsidiary companies, seven of which are expected to commence operations this week. The seven are: Nigerian Petroleum Development Company Limited, Integrated Data Services Company Limited, Warri Refining and Petrochemical Company Limited, Kaduna Refining and Petrochemical Company Limited, Pipelines and Produce Marketing Company Limited, Hydrocarbon Services of Nigeria Company Limited, and Engineering Company of Nigeria Limited. The other four: Nigerian Gas Development Company Limited, The LNG Company, Port Harcourt Refining Company Limited and Eleme Petrochemical Company Limited, are expected to take off before the end of next year.

The re-organisation also affects the marketing of Nigerian crude oil. There have been complaints in recent months that Nigeria, unlike many other oil producers, has too many marketers for its oil. There are at least 40 of them, a number thought to be too high. Babangida said last Monday in Kaduna that the marketing of crude oil by the corporation would be reviewed "to make it possible for only NNPC and local and foreign corporate bodies that actively participate in prospecting, exploration and production of crude oil to take part in the business of selling crude oil."

This new strategy has now virtually stopped marketing of oil by commissioned agents. The NNPC now says that there would only be three channels for disposing of Nigeria's crude. These are the joint venture oil producing companies, direct sales of crude oil to refineries and their associated marketing outlets in which the NNPC is negotiating the acquisition of equity interests, and sales to indigenous and foreign exploration companies that are actively exploring for petroleum in any part of the country. And for such companies to qualify, there is a proviso: they must not only have an oil prospecting licence; they must also have completed the minimum seismic data acquisition and exploratory drilling programme specified by the ministry of petroleum resources.

The new strategy would, therefore, bring a review of the existing third party contracts, while government to government contracts would certainly be phased out. But as

the NNPC said last week, "...increased product allocation will be made to established petroleum marketing companies in Nigeria and our new downstream partners to enable them meet the domestic requirements of ECOWAS countries."

With the re-organisation, the NNPC now has two deputy managing directors. The appointment of the acting managing director, Aret Adams, was eventually confirmed. There had been speculations that he was not confirmed for over two years because of plans to give the managing director's job to another candidate, Bello, who is now the new deputy managing director, operations.

Approved by the council of state last November and later by the Armed Forces Ruling Council, AFRC, the re-organisation could not be implemented easily because of disagreements within the corporation. According to an NNPC source, the two main areas of disagreement were the organisational structure recommended for the purposes of commercialisation and whether or not the NNPC should be broken into subsidiaries or autonomous units. The source, who spoke to NEWSWATCH last January, said: "We have reasons to believe that our efforts to commercialise our services are being frustrated. Chances are that some people would go behind us with their own ideas of how the NNPC should be commercialised and, one day, we will wake up only to be informed that the president has approved their plan, which I don't think will augur well for this corporation."

Those fears proved unjustified last week as most observers gave kudos to the administration "for finally doing the right thing by the NNPC." The ministry of petroleum resources itself has been restructured to give meaning to the whole reorganisation effort. There will be three main departments in the ministry: internal administration, policy and management, and petroleum resources. The internal department is expected to deal with finance and accounts, budgets and general services, personnel, training, legal and audit matters and would be headed by the secretary for finance and administration. Policy and management department will deal with policy formulation, planning and research, liaison with the NNPC, petroleum training institute and petroleum equalisation fund and would be headed by a secretary for petroleum affairs. The third department, petroleum resources, will incorporate the present petroleum inspectorate, which has now been transferred to the ministry from the NNPC. It would regulate the activities of the oil companies and ensure that they comply with laws governing the industry. It would be headed by a director. B.A. Osuno.

With the commercialisation of the NNPC, it seems that the Babangida administration has now rid itself of the yoke of petroleum subsidy. Its carefully orchestrated campaigns to have the subsidy removed by January this year came to naught in the face of stiff opposition from Nigerians, especially the Nigeria Labour Congress. Since the NNPC now has to be financially autonomous, the prediction by market analysts is that Nigerians will pay

for the N2.5 billion special fund in the 1988 budget through higher prices for petroleum products, higher NEPA tariff and higher telephone bills.

According to sources, the government does not need to talk about the removal of subsidy anymore as this would be done without fanfare by the NNPC. As one government official put it last week, "you will just drive to the petrol station one day and find that prices have gone up." That one day may come in the next few weeks, barring any unforeseen circumstance. The greatest source of unified opposition to the issue, the NLC, has already been dissolved by the government.

A high ranking official of the NNPC told NEWSWATCH that if subsidy is to be removed, it would be done in such a way that it would not cause too much hardship for Nigerians. The NNPC itself seems to have been preparing for subsidy removal since December last year, when it started wiping off the corporation's logo on its vehicles. There are not many official cars of the NNPC in Lagos now bearing the company's logo. According to insiders, this move was prompted by the fear that NNPC's vehicles might be attacked if there are any disturbances following the removal of subsidy.

However, the optimistic outlook for the Nigerian oil industry locally is tempered by the fact that oil fortune in the international market is rather uncertain. There are reasons to believe that the present slide in oil prices is a signal of what may come later. David-West said the signs are ominous for many reasons. The winter has been mild and, as a result, there has been a low demand for OPEC oil. He has also argued that demand would even be lower by summer, which means that prices may not be able to get back to \$18 a barrel.

Furthermore, he told NEWSWATCH that the Gulf war has not brought about a decrease in the supply of crude oil from that area. Rather, the two warring countries have been over-producing just to keep their war efforts going. Besides this, dishonesty of some OPEC members, problems of differentials would continue to worsen the situation.

Lukman, who is president of the 13-member OPEC, does not agree with David-West's assessment. A release from the NNPC late last week put the blame for the downward trend at the doorsteps of the Western media, bent on destroying OPEC. The statement showed a great deal of optimism that the situation would soon improve.

According to the statement, "reports reaching us from the major consuming countries, especially the USA, indicate that stocks are now depleting to levels where replenishment is necessary. Of course, the mild winter witnessed in Western Europe this year slowed down the depletion of stocks. It is, therefore, quite obvious that prices would soon rebound.

Only time will tell if Lukman's assumptions are right. There appears, no doubt, that the western world wants a permanently weak OPEC. But it is equally true that the organisation has suffered self-inflicted injuries in recent years. Lukman has been able to pull the organisation through some rough patches since he became its president in 1986. The reversal of the December 1985 decision to defend OPEC market share, which led to the collapse of the oil market in 1986, was partly attributable to his negotiating skills. He would need them again to be able to do the trick one more time.

/12913

Traditional Rulers Contest Aikhomu's Directives on Travel

34000584b Lagos *THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN* in English 21 Mar 88 p 27-29

[Article by Godwin Agbroko with reports from Usman Abundah, Josephine Akarue, Chima Eweama, Ody Chukwube, Eddy Williams, Debo Adesina, Tunde Oyekola, Awotusin]

[Text] By the time the Chief of General Staff, Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu rounded up his speech delivered in his usual monotone, a pall of silence had enveloped the tastefully furnished conference room of the Durbar Hotel, Kaduna. The ceaseless droning of the air-conditions, rather than break the awkward silence, gave an eerie background to the sombre mood of the 301 local government chairmen who had come to know their duties, rights and responsibilities in Nigeria's political scheme. In the ears of the councillors, the guidelines issued by the CGS, 8 March, read like a tale of the unexpected.

Nonetheless, Aikhomu's cheerless message managed to record a high point for the councillors. For a brief moment during the speech, the audience was carried away when the CGS announced that henceforth, a traditional ruler wishing to travel has to inform the chairman of his council of the trip.

Echoes of the standing ovation Aikhomu received from his listeners had hardly died down when the effluvium from denunciatory reactions of the kings and some of their subjects threatened to drown the government. To Oba Adeyemi Adelabu, the Ewi of Ado-Ekiti, he would prefer to abdicate his throne rather than seek the approval of his council chairman before travelling. Sources told *THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN* that a day after Aikhomu's speech, traditional rulers met at divisional levels to discuss the directives. According to informed sources, they agreed during the preliminary discussions to send representatives to a nationwide meeting to map out an appropriate response.

There are indications, however, that the traditional rulers would have an uphill task convincing the government to recant its decision. Sources close to the thinking

of the Babangida administration say the government did not step on the royal corns of traditional rulers inadvertently. An analyst close to the administration says the "ultimate aim of the government is to make the chieftaincy institution a thing of the past" through "extinction by evolution rather than by fiat." The strategy, according to this source, is to limit the kings severely to their local government areas and to make their roles merely ceremonial, all in an attempt to divest them of power and undue influence in a democratic set-up as canvassed by the Political Bureau.

Notwithstanding the trenchant criticisms, government has its share of supporters. In fact, Una Akpa, a former gubernatorial candidate of the defunct People's Redemption Party (PRP) is so elated that he feels the government must be congratulated "for having the temerity to place politics where it should be." He says the chairmen, being the elected representatives in their areas, "it is only logical that all things, including the institution of traditional rulers should be under them." In this regard, he thinks "the government has started the political process very well by making the people know that there cannot be two governments in one local government area." Based on that premise, Akpan holds that "it is not normal for any traditional ruler who knows the meaning of the law to grumble over this same political instruction from the Federal Military Government."

To the legally minded, that is hardly the point. The issue at stake, according to two Lagos lawyers, Chief Gani Fawhinmi and Dr. Olu Onagoruwa is that Aikhomu's "command" is "an unwarranted and unprecedented violation of the constitutional right to freedom of movement of the traditional rulers as guaranteed under section 38 of the 1979 Constitution."

Others see the matter in less constitutional, even though in more sanguinary terms. According to the Benin Traditional Council, the new regulations is nothing short of "a threat to peace and tranquility." On the very day Aikhomu announced the order, the traditional council described it as "a calculated attempt to belittle the institution of traditional rulership in Nigeria." To the council, it is "a gross affront on the known norms and customs of Nigerians for Obas to seek the permission of their subjects before travelling.

Even though traditional rulers seem agreed that the directive is anathema to the royal institution, they are nevertheless sharply divided on how it would be applied. In Rivers State, for example, the traditional rulers feel that the application of the guideline would be discriminatory; its enforcement being tilted particularly against those in the eastern part of the country. Their view is based on the belief espoused by Charles Agulata, the Ebenibe of Epic clan in Yenagoa, that "it is only here in the east where the positions of traditional rulers are not harmonised and their status not recognised even by the state government that such a directive can apply.

To drive the point home, some of the traditional rulers cite their salaries as an example. According to them, a third class chief in the east receives N125 a month; a second class chief, N250; and a first class chief, N416. They say poor salaries apart, the government does not provide official cars and other sinecures that ought to go with their office—unlike what prevails in Bendel State, northern, and western parts of the country where their colleagues have a fleet of cars and are remunerated by the states better than even the commissioners. Eze Agulata, for example, wonders how "the all-powerful Oba of Benin, the Olu of Warri, the Alake of Egbaland or the Emir of Kano would seek clearance from a local government chairman before making a trip out of his kingdom."

Even though the government might have desired to use the directive as a signal to traditional rulers that they are subordinate to the democratic institutions within their areas the administration apparently did not foresee the vitriolic flak it has received. Two days after the order, the CGS had to go into a long explanation to soothe the nerves of critics. According to him, the directive was in fact in the interest of the rulers themselves so that the chairmen could make protocol arrangements for the trips. "If the chairmen of the local governments are not aware of the movements of the traditional ruler," he reasoned, "they would not be in a position to make such arrangements." He said any allusion to his speech as a disrespect to the royal institution will be "unfortunate and mischievous.

If the directive was merely for protocol arrangements, the council chairmen who listened to the CGS 8 February, did not see it that way as they gleefully gave a standing ovation. The rulers protesting the order are presumably informed by the experiences of their colleagues during the Second Republic who were queried by state governors for travelling abroad without the permission of the chief executives of the states. A notable case was the Awujale of Ijebuland, Oba Sikiru Adetona, who on several occasions faced threats of disciplinary measures for travelling abroad frequently without the permission of ex-Governor Bisi Onabanjo.

With the latest code of conduct for the rulers, sceptics think it is not unlikely that such frictions would become a regular occurrence. To Yusuf Mamman, press secretary to the CGS, such fears are groundless. According to him, the government is "thinking less of conflicts and crises and more of harmony and goodwill." In his opinion, "the operators will know how best to handle the situation."

If history is a guide, then such hopes are, at best, pious, especially when viewed against the background of how the councillors received Aikhomu's message. Indeed, the height of the romance between traditional rulers and politicians was in the nationalist days in the 1940s. At independence, the politicians rewarded the traditional rulers with a House of Chiefs for the role they played in

ousting the colonial masters. Since then, the romance has so waned that even in the First Republic, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the then premier of the Northern Region and Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the West, had cause to dethrone some traditional rulers. Analysts believe that the current cat and mouse game between the new and old elite as represented by the up and coming politicians and the ever present traditional ruler is bound to snap someday. Perhaps, it is in recognition of their tenuous position within the framework of a democratic Nigeria that the rulers are always up in arms whenever anything disturbs the status quo, no matter how seemingly innocuous.

If the order on traditional rulers was unexpected, then Aikhomu's guidelines on the operations of the councils would appear to be a complete turn-around, at least in the expectations of councillors. Spurred by the utterances of the Babangida administration that this time around, the councils would become an effectively autonomous third-tier of government, many aspirants who in the past would have disdainfully refused a council seat went in quest of one in the 12 December 1987 poll.

The hope for a truly autonomous council was fuelled even more when President Ibrahim Babangida announced that the revenue allocation to the local governments from the Federation Account has been increased from 10 per cent to 20 per cent and that it would be paid directly to them. Soon after the inauguration of the councils early this year, that expectation fizzled out. Council chairmen across the country were heard complaining about the suffocating stranglehold of the state governments especially in financial matters.

The most vociferous complaints came from Kwara State where the government institutionalised a monthly deduction of 65 per cent of the Federal revenue to the local governments, ostensibly for the payment of teachers' salaries and the running of the schools. Claims by councillors that they would spend less but run the schools better were ignored by the state government. What particularly piqued the chairmen was the mandatory monthly contribution of N7,500 demanded by the state government for the Expanded Programme on Immunisation (EPI) and the Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT).

Bendel State was equally on cue. The state government appropriated 40 per cent of the councils' money as contributions to the development of the state. A joint meeting of all the chairmen was to resolve later that the "arbitrary deductions" would be "stifling" to the councils. For Mr. Bolaji Gbayisemore, chairman of Ilaje Epe-Odo Council, "we have to wait until the Federal Government releases the guidelines on Local Government Councils. As at now, my council pays over 75 per cent of the salaries of primary school teachers from the joint account of the local government councils."

When the guidelines came, they were hardly what Gbayisemore expected. They carefully circumscribed the chairmen, divesting them of many of the powers they thought traditionally belonged to them. And in more ways than one, the guidelines severely punctured any notions of the local government as an autonomous tier of government.

The main beneficiary of the apparent emasculation of the chairman is the secretary who shall be appointed solely by the Local Government Service Commission with the approval of the governor. The secretary, according to the directives, shall handle exclusively all staff matters in line with the approved scheme for local government workers within the powers granted him by the service scheme. In discharging his functions, he is to be assisted by the management committee comprising departmental heads.

Although the chairmen are to preside over the finance and general purpose committee of the councils, which would regulate and control finances, they have been barred from being signatories to council cheques. More than this, the control and management of funds would be done in accordance with the approved memoranda for local government in each state.

What would probably give the state government the ample room to reduce the councils to mere appendages is the power conferred on her to issue detailed guidelines to the councils on administrative procedures. The omnibus guidelines, according to the CGS, should include the conduct of council business; functions and responsibilities of principal functionaries; petitions; committees; as well as the award of contracts and settlement of bills; press statements and interviews.

What critics like Tom Obiyan, a sociology lecturer at the University of Lagos (Unilag) cannot understand is why government chose to give more powers to the unelected secretaries who are not accountable to the people. To F.O. Adeoye, a law lecturer at Unilag, a system that makes an elected chairman a mere observer to the signing of cheques is useless. According to him, the chairman who is a representative of the people at the local level should be directly involved in the financial matters to the councils.

For now, the chairmen see themselves as being impotent in the decisive functions of the councils. The situation was graphically put by one of them to his colleagues in Kaduna: "If I knew that the local governments needed only administrators and no politicians, I would not have bothered myself going through the electoral hassles."

It was thus in accord with their mood when the chairmen at the end of the two-day workshop issued a communique that was almost devoted entirely to a lamentation of

how the "subjective relationship" between the local and state governments has eroded the autonomy of the councils and the need for the constitution to redress the situation.

/12913

Oil Shortage Cripples NEPA's Power-Generating Capacity

34000584a Lagos *THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN* in English 21 Mar 88 p 21

[Article by Sunny Biahqhere]

[Text] Alhaji Bunu Sheriff Musa, minister of Mines, Power and Steel at the inauguration 4 February of the newly constituted NEPA board urged the members to get into action and restore regular power supply to the country. His orders: "Stop the blackouts and transform the authority's nickname from: "Never Expect Power Always," to "Nigerians Expect Power Always."

Barely a month and a week after Alhaji Musa's brace-up order, NEPA on the contrary, has given warning signals that it is set to plunge into another season of epileptic power supply.

According to reports which emanated from the body last week, power failure would worsen nationwide following the crumbling of NEPA's generating capacity because of an acute shortage of oil to run the Egbin Power Station in Lagos. The Egbin Thermal Station with an installed capacity of 1,320 megawatts accounts for over 50 per cent of power on the national grid.

Now the entire plant built at a cost of N700 million is to be shut following NEPA's inability to acquire sufficient High Power Fuel Oil (HPFO). This new problem underlines the numerous problems that undermine NEPA's operational efficiency since it came into being.

Over 16 years, it made monumental strides in the development of electric energy and encouraging growth. Its 4657 MW installed capacity represents more than 25 times increase within 27 years. Its asset of less than N400 million in 1972 today stands at N3.5 billion.

Yet it is as if NEPA has gone too big for its own good, too diverse to take care of itself and ever being reproached by a populace that is forever aggrieved and deprived.

The Federal government came to the aid of NEPA twice last year, doling out a N68 million loan for the rehabilitation and overhaul of generating units at Sapele and Delta Power Stations and another N60 million to the body to settle the outstanding bills it was owing oil companies delivering HPFO to Egbin Power Station near Ikorodu, Lagos.

Yet shortage of High Power Fuel Oil is the harbinger of the new season of nationwide fitful power supply.

THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN investigation reveals that NEPA requires N1 million worth of High Power Fuel Oil to power the egbin Station daily. This exorbitant cost is a result of government hike in contract oil price, up from 2.3 kobo a litre to 19 kobo a litre which makes Egbin the most expensive power station to operate in the land.

The situation would have been considerably redressed if the NNPC had laid before now the gas pipelines needed at the Thermal Station. It is said that gas expected from the Escravos—Lagos Pipeline under construction would not be ready until late 1988.

However the current problem stems from the failure of NNPC to meet its pledge to supply NEPA 50,000 tonnes of HPFO monthly. Last month, NNPC delivered only 35,180 tonnes of HPFO to the Egbin station. As at 4 March, NEPA had only 8,000 tonnes of HPFO at Egbin and there were forlorn hopes that NNPC would deliver fresh supplies as at last weekend. The running battle between NEPA and NNPC over fuel supply has been on for quite sometime but it was felt this had come to an end with the peace meeting between both parties at the instance of the Minister of Mines and Power last January.

The NNPC had claimed it was not supposed to supply directly to NEPA and should therefore be absolved of blame. "There are other oil companies which serve as agents and if anybody should be blamed it is those companies" declared an NNPC spokesman last week.

Meanwhile, NEPA's problems remain intractable. The inherent problems of Egbin, the low water at Kainji Dam, transmission line faults due to frequent breakdown of machines are reasons adduced as factors responsible for the reduced output capacity.

This has led to incessant power cuts which have taken their toll on individuals and the economy. Nigeria's losses daily in power interruptions have been officially put at N1 million. This is no exaggeration if the experiences of business and commercial houses are anything to go by. Last week, three multi-storey blocks in Lagos were engulfed by fire from private power generators and companies too have to grapple with the higher cost in rising energy bills.

There is the increased cost of production—a burden which is transferred to the consumers. Top quality brand Chinese made lantern which used to cost N3.50 now sells for between N13 to N15: The higher quality German brand has risen from N15 to N30. A stick of candle which sold for 25 kobo previously sells for N1.50 with the result that people now opt for the more economical kerosine lamps.

But NEPA is not without its defences. Debts owed NEPA stand at N300 million of which the Federal Government and its agencies alone owe more than N80 million. Often times NEPA is undermined by statutory

bodies, industrial sector and the general public which do not inform NEPA about projects requiring electric power supply. The result is that existing facilities are often taxed to the limit to provide power for the new

industry or residential area. This further reduces quality and reliability of supply to existing and newly connected consumers.

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Resistance Leader Criticizes Failed Coup Attempt
34420128 Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese
30 Mar 88 p 22

[Report on interview with FREST leader Quintiliano Amado, by Joao Rosa; on 28 March 1988]

[Text] A leader apparently with only one idea, and with a theoretical cause, and a general virtually without troops, almost alone with a banner (in this case, supposedly, that of liberty and democracy for his fellow countrymen), Quintiliano Amado is secretary general of the National Resistance Front of Sao Tome [FREST] (to which he has not returned since 1967), headquartered in Lisbon, which has challenged the Pinto da Costa regime, but now, also the coup attempt of 8 March. In his modest house, Palhava, complaining of the lack of financial resources and other facilities, granted us a brief interview on these subjects the day before yesterday. Quintiliano Lavres Amado was born on the island of Principe in 1939. He studied at the high school, and was a judicial employee until 1967, when he went to Portugal, joined the staff of a private company, and began making contacts with the liberation movements of former colonies established here.

After the independence of Sao Tome and Principe, the Organization for Defense of the People of Sao Tome and Principe was founded in Angola, but was later dismantled by the Angolan authorities. At that time, in 1982, FREST [National Resistance Front of Sao Tome] was formed in Portugal, in which Quintiliano Amado began as general coordinator, and is now the respective secretary general and leader.

Meanwhile, the one who became number one in FREST, signing documents as its president (which we still see now), was Carlos Graca, during his period of exile and opposition, before resuming relations with Pinto da Costa and returning to Sao Tome, in whose government he is currently minister of foreign affairs.

Quintiliano Amado observes: "I am greatly confused by the conduct of Carlos Graca, who returned to Sao Tome on the condition that democratic liberties be established in the country, and that the Angolan and Cuban occupation forces leave (the main demands of FREST itself); and who is there now, as minister of a government of the very Pinto da Costa who has kept the country occupied and without democracy." In this regard, he shows us a letter from Carlos Graca dated 2 January 1985, in which, "already in a phase of shifting his position," he recommends that his "comrades" in FREST stop the criticism and charges of corruption made concerning the Pinto da Costa government, and attacks on the USSR, noting that they should confine themselves, but with diplomatic language, to inveighing against the presence of Angolan and Cuban forces in the territory; but also against the lack of rights and liberties for the people, and against the

Sao Tome economy's erroneous options. Quintiliano asks: "Could it be merely because he is drunk with power that Carlos Graca has become so blind?"

The Route of the Coup 'Renegade'

The Sao Tome resistance movement has survived in Portugal with extreme economic difficulties. Active members number only a few dozen, and "we have absolutely no economic aid, resulting in the meager demonstration of our activity and maneuvering capacity."

Moreover, the movement's strongest centralization has always been located in Gabon, "where, and from which, we had very strong backing until 1985, when Pinto da Costa convinced the Gabonese president, Omar Bongo, of the pseudo-openness of his policy, and he stopped helping us." Then the Sao Tome opposition members, already in a state of decline, moved their logistical bases to the Cameroons.

Even earlier, however, in 1983, Manuel Afonso Rosario dos Santos, commonly known only as Afonso dos Santos (leader of the foiled coup attempt a few days ago), was expelled from the FREST board of directors, "for indecency and a bad image, on all levels, which only led to the defection of many members. And Afonso was never again a member of the front," we were assured by the subject of our interview, who nevertheless explained the strange route taken by this "renegade."

Until the deactivation in Gabon, Afonso dos Santos still had 2 years of activity in that country, where he continued to call it the resistance, in the name of a FREST-R (?), in which he capitalized on aid and to which he lured young resistance members to whom he even pretended to give military training. However, he ended up being taken prisoner with them; he was later released and moved to the Cameroons.

Always keeping a residence in Portugal, but taking constant trips to the Cameroons, Afonso dos Santos continued luring people to his activities in exchange for the large sums of money that he had ("I have no idea where it came from") to offer them, with cars, luxurious meals, and other extravagances. "He sent one group of them to Namibia, guaranteeing that they would have protection there from the South African Government; this was so untrue that all of them ended up being jailed there, just as they still are now, in the Walvis Bay prison," noted Quintiliano Amado, as an example. He added:

"Wives of those men and their children are here in Portugal, penniless, in a grievous situation, influenced by Afonso's unconscionable promises, according to complaints by many introduced to the Portuguese police authorities, through our auspices or with our knowledge. He has an expensive office in Lisbon, and leads a luxurious life, with several of the best cars. Based on this,

and on estimates of the trips he has made, always with a large entourage, between Portugal and Gabon, in recent years, Afonso has spent nearly half a million contos. Who gave it to him, I don't know, since FREST has not had any more political relations with this type of person since 1983."

According to the subject of our interview, it may have been with a group of his followers still established in the Cameroons that Santos consummated this desperate coup attempt.

Display by Pinto da Costa?

The FREST leader, however, is greatly perplexed at this coup attempt episode:

"I realize that Afonso is half crazy, but not so much that he would, with any serious intentions, make an attempt to overthrow the government of Sao Tome with a few barges, half a dozen pistols, and a few dozen men, as if they were hunting sparrows! Knowing that the Angolan and Cuban troops stationed in the country number even more than the native ones who, not even if they wished or wish to rebel, could do so on that account, how could this attempt be serious?"

He goes on to say: "Furthermore, what can be said about the odd fact that the coup attempt occurred on 8 March, but the coup perpetrators had already been seen and identified on 25 and 26 February, when they were actually in the country, at Pombo Beach, in Santana, and were known to the authorities?"

Quintiliano Amado remarks: "As I see it, in this strange situation, I do admit as most likely the possibility that this might have been a display mounted by Pinto da Costa himself, to attract the world's attention, for the purpose of justifying the stay of the foreign contingents in the country, after all."

Death Penalty

However, the subject of our interview admits that the regime and government of Sao Tome and Principe must change, although not through adventurous or suicidal coups or pseudo-coups:

"There is no political or economic democracy, the state's financial activity has become increasingly disastrous, and there are already serious market and food shortages. Corruption is rampant in the administration, with rulers who own homes and cars at prices completely out of reach of their legitimate earnings. And, primarily, the mortgaging of the national sovereignty to the Angolans and Cubans is revolting. The openness publicized in the West is merely rhetorical bait, in an attempt to procure investments to save the country's finances; which is not being achieved, because the insecurity is obvious."

We ask, in conclusion: "Why don't you return to Sao Tome, Mr Quintiliano?"

"Because the death penalty is established in my country's Constitution, although it has not yet been applied there. But one never knows.... Besides, in spite of everything, I appeal to Pinto da Costa still not to deal with Afonso Santos and his unfortunate comrades."

POLITICAL

ANC's Mac Maharaj Discusses Future Regime, Domestic Issues

34420127 Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
23 Mar 88 p 5

[Interview with ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj by Bernardo Mavanga in Maputo, date not given]

[Text] In his recent stay in Mozambique to participate in the scientific seminar "In Remembrance" of Ruth First and Aquino de Braganca held at the Center of African Studies, Mac Maharaj, member of the Executive Committee of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC), granted an exclusive interview to the newspaper NOTICIAS in which he speaks of the nature of the struggle of the people of southern Africa, pointing out their similarity and communion of objectives that will culminate with the extinction of the system of apartheid. Mac Maharaj, a prominent ANC leader, who in the dungeons of the regime witnessed the intransigence of the racist government in continuing to rule the majority of the South African people and the region as a whole, made an evaluation in the interview of the advance of the South African people's struggle and of the present political strategy of Botha, indicating an intensification of the struggle on all fronts as the only solution for the end of apartheid. Here is the text of the aforementioned interview:

[Question] Much is being said about the possible withdrawal of P.W. Botha from power at a time when the regime shows itself intransigent in the maintenance of the system of apartheid. What do you think will be the future political strategy of the regime of South Africa on the domestic and foreign levels without Botha?

[Answer] I believe there is much speculation on what could happen when P.W. Botha leaves government. Much of that speculation is about who will assume power after Botha. Although this question is important, it is even more relevant to ask: "What will be the policy of the Pretoria regime in the period that will follow the withdrawal of Pieter Botha from power: What could be the future strategy of the regime with Botha or without Botha?"

Certainly basic tendencies are already present in the positions assumed by the regime of P.W. Botha, and it is here that it is important to understand that in reality and practice there exists the hidden power of the military men who insure the bases for the continuity of the positions of Botha even after he retires. We have maintained, and I believe correctly, the opinion that what began side by side with the revolt in the interior of South Africa and the intensification of the struggle, particularly since 1984, is the ideological collapse of the system of apartheid. In the normal course of events, such an

ideological collapse translates into political disintegration. Botha is fighting to prevent that political disintegration from taking place, resorting to all his own methods.

[Question] How does Botha wage that struggle?

[Answer] He has to present a strategy for the future. I believe that the measures he adopted during this period of the failure of his ideology were the following:

Insure complete support from the military. He convinced himself of the need for the physical destruction of the ANC because he understands as clearly as we do that the revolution cannot advance without a leadership force at the head of that revolution. But at the same time he has recognized that it is an impossible dream to destroy the ANC completely, although he continues firm in that objective.

Intensification of repression, not only against the ANC but also, more significantly, against the entire democratic movement of masses, against the UDF [United Democratic Front] and the CASATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] in particular. He regroups the white community against the entire democratic movement, intensifies the system of apartheid, seeking the total destruction of the democratic movement in the country.

Simultaneously with what I have just said, carrying out a policy of corruption seeking to promote blacks for his system.

With respect to his future plans, he wants to concentrate his program of change in the so-called Strategic Council and his ideologists share the same points of view that the Strategic Council is an open forum and the place for negotiations.

By this he is doing two things. He wants those talks to take place while they maintain an effective control by means of the clandestine military structure of control existing at all levels. That strategy appears to us like the development of what happened in Zimbabwe. When Ian Smith had to share the government with the majority and needed a black face, he created special commissions that guaranteed that even if that sharing was with Muzorewa, the real government, which means power, would continue to be in the hands of the white minority. Therefore, outside the framework of his white Parliament, Botha created a force that establishes those guarantees. This is the direction that Botha is taking and this is the direction that will be marked; whoever inherits the government will have the support of the State Security Council.

[Question] The present correlation of forces shows, that like President Botha himself, the future leader of the regime will come from the military sector, or do you not share that opinion?

[Answer] Or it will be a person who is linked to the military sector and has the support of this sector guaranteed, for example, Minister of Defense Magnus Malan, or it could be someone who is considered as supportive of the military positions. It is necessary to perceive that it is in this respect the existence of the National Security Council bypasses, not only the Parliament and the ministerial offices, but also the National Party itself. This is the reason that the State Security Council met before the 1986 elections with the Federal Congress of the National Party, to establish how it would be guaranteed that the party would be on its side.

[Question] Naturally there will be the concern by the apartheid regime to establish a strategy that will insure the continuance of its power in the future, however, as this process of struggle advances, it seems that Pretoria is being dragged along by events and it is not so much the initiative of the regime that dictates those events.

[Answer] Yes. The South African struggle cannot be viewed in an isolated way. We always say that the system of apartheid grows because of its connection with imperialism. However, what we are witnessing today is that South Africa has vast interests in the region of southern Africa. Therefore, what is happening is that first, the process of independence and, second, the establishment of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola, are a challenge to those South African interests. These are states that know of their economic ties with South Africa but want to free themselves of those ties of dependence and develop their own economies in a healthy and independent way. Repression in the interior of South Africa and the spread of terrorism throughout the region have been a practical way of hindering the struggle of the countries of southern Africa for that economic progress. But what is actually happening is that the initiative has escaped from the hands of Botha both in and out of the country; in a very important way, outside of South Africa. This is not in the sense that the governments and states of southern Africa are going to confront South Africa militarily, but in the sense that the states of the region, in one of their Front Line Summits in 1982, already recognized that the response to the [words dropped in the original] destabilization and multiple aggressions of the Pretoria regime in the interior of South Africa.

[Question] Are you stating that destabilization in the interior of South Africa is the solution to the terrorism of South Africa against its neighbors?

[Answer] The reply to that question is given there in a generic way, but it means particularly that the Front Line believes that destabilization inside South Africa has to be developed with the leadership of the ANC while they struggle, within the limitations of the present situation, to maintain their independence and territorial integrity and develop independent economic ties. Pretoria understands that all its ideas of a constellation of states, all its ideas of client states are doomed. Those ideas are

doomed because of the action of the Front Line States and the people of southern Africa. Militarily, the regime is also losing. Yes, because if on one hand we see the devastation that is present in Mozambique and Angola and destabilization in Zambia and Zimbabwe, we have to ask ourselves: Why does Pretoria resort to these actions that express desperation? What happens is that Pretoria understood that this process of struggle seized the initiative out of the hands of the regime itself. And what does the regime do? It responds by intensifying its aggression against Angola, although it recognizes that such a solution will not lead to the collapse of the government of the MPLA; it intensifies repression in this country, using armed bandits, although it recognizes that it is not going to overthrow the FRELIMO government. It continues with that strategy, however, because it corresponds to the logic of repression, a logic that emerges from the correlation of forces in the region that threatens the hegemonic aspirations of the regime. These actions emerge as the only way of trying to make itself recognized as a regional force and this is the only alternative left for Pretoria. This is the way that it seeks in vain to recover the initiative for its side. I am not trying to say by this that we are not involved in a hard fight with great loss of human lives, great devastation of our economies and the destruction of our economic and social infrastructures.

[Question] Within that context of destabilization of the apartheid regime to force it to turn its attention inward, how do you evaluate the progress of the armed struggle that the movement you represent is waging?

[Answer] First let me say that the past year was a difficult year for the South African people. Pretoria tried to destroy the uprising of masses against apartheid, but without success. Replying to your specific question, I would first like to explain the parameters in which our armed struggle is being waged. Unfortunately we are not waging an armed struggle such as other people have done. We are not waging a people's struggle on the basis that a neighboring country is granting us military bases such as Algeria had in Morocco and in Tunisia, the MPLA had in Congo Brazzaville and Zimbabwe had in Mozambique. It is not possible for us because it is politically and geographically different. However, we have to find a solution.

[Question] And what is the solution?

[Answer] Well, the history of wars does not say that one must look into a book to see whether conditions exist for waging war in land X to decide whether or not the war should be waged. That is not how revolutionary wars have come about.

In the history of revolutionary wars it says: If this is the reality, how then shall we wage our armed struggle? This means that faced with the evidence of not being able to install bases in neighboring territories, we have to prove that we can install bases inside South African territory.

The classic guerrilla war tells us: Install a guerrilla zone, create liberated zones (like those that existed in Mozambique, for example), but this is impossible in our case. The enemy has great mobility, strong economic foundations, a high level of organization, a developed arms industry and its own air force. Very great mobility. We say in answer to this question: We have to transform our people themselves into revolutionary bases. That is why P.W. Botha wants to destroy the ANC. He has already noted that the movement of masses against apartheid is more and more becoming a movement of revolutionary bases of this South African Revolution. This is the theoretical explanation, but what does it mean in practice? It means that the type of action that was seen in the early days of armed struggle with its simple propaganda cannot by itself continue to play a decisive role. We are more significant now, and we are insuring that on the spot, over there in interior of South Africa, formation and training continues. It does not necessarily have to be a sophisticated training. The masses are involved in this type of action, that can be rudimentary, but little by little developing their capabilities. There are those who are selected for training abroad and they are the ones who later on become officers who have to have a higher level of training, and who upon returning to the interior of South Africa and continue the struggle, function as instructors. This is the direction that the formation and training of the people for armed struggle has taken. We are involved in self-defense training. We seek to function in this way with all the structures of the masses and district committees because this is the process that is considered practical in our situation. We cannot wage war in the same way Zimbabwe did, because under the conditions that provided bases for ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union], they could bring thousands of people out of Rhodesia to train them for the war. How could that happen in the interior of the country? Now, what could facilitate our work is the unity of thought in the combat front represented by the Front Line established by the countries of southern Africa. In the degree that the struggle advances on that front, the situation becomes more favorable for us in the interior of South Africa, and as the struggle advances in the interior of South Africa, the situation becomes more favorable for the fight outside the territory. It is a basic logic. How can we help our comrades in Mozambique, as well as against the aggression that Pretoria has launched against Angola? Would it be by sending a company, a battalion or a platoon to the Angolan front? Or will it be by intensifying armed struggle in the interior of South Africa so that the divisions that Pretoria launched against Angola will have to return to the country? Therefore, we have to understand this interaction, and it is in this context that our struggle has to be developed. In this way I will say that armed struggle reached a stage in which it progresses beyond simple propaganda, involving the masses more and more profoundly.

[Question] Mr Mac Maharaj, would you want to refer to this wave of attempts on the lives of ANC leaders, including those in exile? Why has this become frequent?

[Answer] We believe that state terrorism as a form of repression developed in a specific way. Terrorism in its true sense has been practiced by the South African Government, not only against the ANC. Domestically it is practiced against members of the UDF, and externally it assumes other forms such as destabilization and military aggression. Therefore, terrorism, stripped of any scruples, becomes the policy of the South African Government. They think they will be able to end the struggle of the people for their freedom by eliminating some members of the ANC.

[Question] Pretoria freed Goven Mbeki, one of the leaders in the Rivonia trial; however, this person continues to be prevented from traveling at will or from speaking to the public. He continues, let us say, to suffer restrictions as if he were in prison. What does your movement think of this?

[Answer] Well, there is no doubt that the release of Goven Mbeki was a victory for the democratic movement and for the international forces that have expressed themselves in favor of the unconditional release of political prisoners in South Africa and who demand an end to the system of apartheid. However, what I think is happening is that the regime does not know what to do in this situation. There were many speculations on the release of Mbeki and it was said that this event meant the quick release of Comrade Nelson Mandela....

[Question] And it was said thinking about an actual release without restrictions....

[Answer] Many analysts believe that Goven Mbeki is now free, and we said in our statement hailing his release that he only changed his prison address. From prison on the Isle of Roben to a larger one: South Africa itself. And we say: Allow Mbeki to speak to the people.

However, the regime shows that it does not know what to do on the subject. It is in this respect that Pretoria keeps Nelson Mandela and company, not as prisoners, but as political hostages, because if Mbeki can be released why not the others? Perhaps the Pretoria regime wants to keep them as political hostages, like kidnapers keep their hostages so that later they can say: Either you accept our demands or we will not release your people. They are political hostages because Pretoria is unsure and incapable of demonstrating an action plan, a strategy of change. And this brings up a point once more about which we have already spoken, and that is that apartheid cannot be reformed and it is unbelievable as a system of government of a state. Underlying this uncertainty and this incapability is another important fact, which is: Even with its intransigent support of RENAMO or the super ZAPU, and with the military aggression against Angola and the delay in the independence of Namibia, we are going to win. We think the release of political prisoners should continue and be one of the principal demands of the international community, and it should even be intensified. There should also be included that Goven

Mbeki should be authorized to speak to his people. If he is not, what will he do? What does the regime fear about letting him speak to the people? This shows that Mbeki was a nightmare for the regime while he was in prison, and continues to be one now that he has been released.

[Question] How does the ANC interpret it, and what objective results does it think it achieved from the Dakar meeting between the ANC and South African figures in July last year?

[Answer] The significance of the meeting is very profound and it was very positive that the meeting was even held against the express wishes of President Botha. Botha always tried to prevent South African individuals from leaving the country to meet with members of the ANC who are abroad. When he learned that 62 Afrikaners were going to Dakar, he and his intelligence service, the white community itself, sought to prevent it from happening. I know a white citizen who lost his inheritance from his father for having gone to Dakar. I know a lady who suffered the same fate for having gone to Dakar. Another lady, who was in Dakar, saw her son transferred from the school he was attending because of a threat from his colleagues and the white community because his father went to Dakar. However, the men came. They were not two delegations who found themselves in Dakar. There were 62 persons with different points of view and the ANC. They held discussions with us. They asked questions which we answered....

[Question] What kind of questions?

[Answer] Questions such as "What do we want to make of the country when apartheid is over? What objectives does our revolution have?" and so forth. We also asked some questions that allowed a better understanding of our struggle. The Afrikaners returned and all the threats Botha made failed. But why does Botha feel frightened? It is because the fight against apartheid has reached a point at which the regime suffers another nightmare; the nightmare that he is going to lose his support even among the white community. That nightmare is real and we can see it today translated into the fact that members of the white community, including important persons, have appeared, who oppose the system of apartheid and are beginning to question the viability of the Botha regime strategy.

[Question] Changing the subject a little, you were once more in Mozambique at a very particular time in the process of national reconstruction represented by the Economic Rehabilitation Program, of which you certainly must have heard already, and of the military offensive against the armed bandits of South Africa. Would you like to utter your opinion on this process, which after all is part of the overall struggle of the people of the region for their total independence and freedom?

[Answer] Although I have come to Maputo to take part in the scientific seminar in memory of the murder of Ruth First and Aquino de Braganca, I had some discussions outside that seminar. All the discussions I had indicate that Mozambique is facing a great problem, and the origin of that problem is Pretoria. Against the progress of the revolution in Mozambique is the South African strategy, which aimed at specific targets, uses the armed bandits against your country and existing infrastructures. Attacks on economic projects in the country and the attacks on defenseless civilian people are designed, not only to create insecurity, but to destroy Mozambique and destroy the capability of its reconstruction. Pretoria wants to destroy the capability of the Mozambican people to build their society in their own way. Even so, the struggle of the Mozambican people has been formidable. Sometimes I am amazed at how the comrades of FRELIMO and the government show their willingness and desire to advance in this struggle and how they give our Mozambican brothers and sisters greater power of resistance. I return even more convinced.

However, we in South Africa have a double responsibility. A responsibility to the South African people and a responsibility to all the people of the southern African region; the responsibility to insure that the system of apartheid is totally destroyed.

[Question] What thoughts can you draw from the seminar you just attended?

[Answer] I found the seminar stimulating and I considered the communication on FRELIMO foreign policy vectors between 1962 and 1972, which deserve a more detailed study, to be particularly interesting. It was the first time that a communication of that nature was prepared since Mozambique became independent. From the ANC point of view, the communication was extremely important because it allows me to think about what the directions of our foreign relations are. The communication by Peter Vale was likewise interesting.... Do not ask me about mine.

[Question] Incidentally, did you know each other before?

[Answer] Yes, we already knew each other, but as I was saying, I do not know up to what point the comrades at the seminar understood what I tried to impart. We know the policy of destabilization and military aggression but rarely speak of the roots or origins of that policy of undeclared war. Will it be a permanent tendency by Pretoria or will it be temporary? That is what I tried to explain with my message, looking toward the sources of that policy. I tried to place the sources in the context of a ruling economic class. Actually, the military are in power clandestinely, but economic power assumes a decisive role. The military men have their own way of thinking, not our way of thinking that the military is an extension of a political struggle, but in the military sense that the Westerners have; it has its own logic. We could

be sitting around a table with the task of planning a certain strategy. Let us say there are six of us, two civilians and four military. The civilians could be arguing very well for certain solutions. The military could agree at that moment because they are certain they cannot win the civilians over to their position. However, as soon as something fails in the strategy, the reply by the military is "smash" them. The second aspect to which I did not refer, was that of the relationship between the correlation of the domestic forces in the fight against apartheid. Finally, the fact of racism, which has spread to the entire government. Racism is developing in such a way that it has made the white community a prisoner of racism. Today the regime is not capable of finding a solution for the problem of racism it created and nourishes with its system. As I said, I do not know whether my message was correctly transmitted. In the future it would be well if seminars of this nature were organized with more time and the material to be discussed were distributed beforehand. It would be interesting, for example, to see what work the Center did with the messages presented, what use the Center makes of the messages to encourage more debates among people; how the messages are used for the establishment of new areas of research so that we may confirm existing ideas and facts as to their veracity or the need to modify them. We do not have an answer with all the truth, but we can always investigate because we need to know in order to advance in our struggle; we have to encourage debate and research.

8908/08309

**SACP Document Circulated Underground
Following Emergency Declaration**
34000604b London *THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST* in
English First Quarter 88 pp 38-48

[Text] Appeal circulated by the SACP underground in South Africa.

We, the SACP militants in the Western Cape, extend our revolutionary greetings to all our working class activists in the region and beyond. We salute those Western Cape comrades who have sacrificed their lives in our revolution. We remember the heroes and martyrs of the legendary Luthuli Detachment, who fought in Zimbabwe twenty years ago. We pay tribute especially to the fearless commissar and member of the Luthuli Detachment, comrade Basil February, who fell on that battlefield. We remember also, our two comrades, Jabu and Billy, who died fighting the enemy in Faure and New Crossroads.

By declaring the fourth State of Emergency and intensifying state terror, Botha and Malan have effectively turned our country into an armed camp. The ruling class's ruthless measures, born out of panic and desperation, have taken a heavy toll on all who stand up, clandestinely or publicly, for freedom and have greatly narrowed any hope of peaceful change to a free South Africa. The great majority of our people, particularly the

black workers and youth, are not intimidated. State of Emergency, or no State of Emergency, they are determined to win their freedom, at whatever cost.

The strengthening of our mass organizations and trade unions and their leadership is the key to our victory. Our Party, being the most experienced and seasoned in underground work, has therefore a tremendous responsibility to assist our people to organize for people's power and socialism

It is necessary that the party must have the closest links with the workers, trade unions and other mass organizations. Our Party's political programme is correct because it champions the interest of our working people. It is guided by, and imbued with, the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, which has been proved time and again to be the only correct policy. An adequate machinery must exist to convey Party policy to the people and to enable them to carry it out effectively. This is our immediate priority, which we can only fulfill if we greatly increase our membership, our effectiveness and the understanding and self-sacrificing work of each and every member.

Our fighting programme, The Road to South African Freedom, was adopted as far back as 1962. However, it still provides us with an invaluable tool to raise the political level of our membership and to attract and enroll many new members. Thousands of our people, especially our working men, women and youth, are able to absorb the straightforward message of our programme and are ready to fight and die for it. It must be made the basis of a vigorous and dynamic campaign of education, both within the Party and amongst revolutionary workers, militant youth and intellectuals who have not yet joined our ranks.

The present 'state of siege' mentality of the ruling class and the massive resources being devoted to police activities have made the work of all democratic opposition, and especially our Party, far more dangerous and difficult. To meet the dangers, we need to be filled with unshakable courage and confidence in our Party, our class, our people and our cause. We have every reason for confidence.

We look at four areas that demand greater ideological clarity and organizational seriousness:

1. Key theoretical principles of a working class vanguard party.
2. The labor movement and the worker's charter.
3. The need for armed revolution.
4. Security and vigilance in the mass democratic and trade union movements.

Key Principles of a Working Class Vanguard Party

South Africans are more and more realizing socialism is the only real solution to our problems of poverty, unemployment, oppression and exploitation. Within the trade

union movement, the slogans and ideals of socialism are taking root as never before. The young lions of our country, the youth, are also in the forefront of this struggle.

Of course, there are now all kinds of 'socialists' jumping on the bandwagon. In fact, there is currently a fierce ideological battle taking place between the ultra-left idea of 'socialism now', led by a worker's party based on trade unions, and the Marxist-Leninist concept of a working class vanguard party as advanced by the SACP militants, would like to reiterate what we consider to be the key principles of the vanguard party of the working class.

A. The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory—Marxism-Leninism.

The ideas relating to the vanguard party are closely associated with the name of Lenin, the leader of the great October Socialist Revolution. Lenin not only inspired the Russian Revolutionaries with the necessity for such a party in the struggle for socialism, but worked unceasingly for its creation. Such a revolutionary working class party, armed with the ideas of Marx and Engels, was formed in Russia at the turn of the century. This Leninist Party led to the creation and consolidation of the first socialist state in the world.

For Lenin, the starting point of the socialist revolution rests on the coming together of a revolutionary theory (Marxism) and a revolutionary working class party (the vanguard party). He defined this in these words:

"In his struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organization.... The proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism, being reinforced by the material unity of organization, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class."

The vanguard party therefore is the dialectical unity of the working class with socialist theory.

The supreme duty of marxist revolutionaries lies in applying and developing this theory to specific conditions of their own struggle, not mechanically, but creatively. The revolutionary concept of 'colonialism of a special type' advanced by the SACP, is an instance of the creative application and development of Marxism in concrete South Africa conditions. It grew out of the revolutionary experience of the South African freedom fighters over many decades. Its underlying premise is Marxism-Leninism, but it takes into account the special aspects of national oppression and class exploitation as the inseparable elements of South Africa's capitalism. It determines the Party's immediate goal—the national

liberation of the most oppressed section of society, the African people, as the condition for the attainment of its strategic objective, the creation of a socialist South Africa.

B. The struggle for socialism is the supreme task of the vanguard party

How does the consciousness of the necessity for a socialist revolution arise? For the economists or 'workerists,' socialist ideology grows spontaneously out of the daily struggle of the workers against employers. Lenin's standpoint is different. "Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is outside of the economic struggle." The reason for this is that socialism is a scientific body of ideas. As such it has to be studied as a science. A science cannot arise spontaneously in the consciousness of the people. People have to be taught it.

This however, must not lead us to the conclusion that socialist ideas are the property of an elite. Far from it. The working class will increasingly produce from its ranks socialist theoreticians and fighters, when such ideas are implanted in the course of struggle by committed socialist revolutionaries. These revolutionaries are themselves the class conscious elements within the workers or members of the intelligentsia committed to the cause of socialism. Communist giants like Mabhida, Kotane, Vuyisile Mini are outstanding examples of revolutionary leaders who emerged from among the workers themselves.

The spontaneous struggle of the masses against oppression and exploitation cannot by itself generate revolutionary consciousness. There is every likelihood that spontaneity will fall prey to and be subverted by the ideas of the ruling class. The propagation of socialist ideas, the struggle for a socialist society is the supreme and special task of the vanguard party.

C. The Party—the highest form of organization of the working class

The Communist Party is the material embodiment of socialist theory. The party is not the entire working class, but part of it, its vanguard. Lenin said:

"The economic struggle serves as a basis for the organization of the workers into a revolutionary Party.... If the economic struggle is taken as something complete in itself, there will be nothing socialist about it."

To us, the role of the proletarian vanguard is to utilize the sparks of political consciousness generated by the workers' struggle, to raise their political consciousness even higher. It lies not only in winning better terms for the sale of labor power of the workers, but to organize the workers for the destruction of the social system which gives rise to the oppression and exploitation of the

working class. The independence and separate identity of the vanguard party enables it to organize and lead the working class and to transform its own ideological unity into the unity of the class.

The party is the highest form of political organization of the working class. It is the political leader of this class without whose guiding theory and activities, it will be impossible to build socialism. In this lies the real relationship between the Party, the working class movement and the political struggle. Workerists always counterpose the working class movement with the organization of revolutionaries. To us, the vanguard party is never a sectarian party. It does not set itself above other movements of the oppressed. As part of the oppressed and exploited, it strives for unity within the ranks of revolutionary forces.

D. Through people's democracy to socialism

A persistent criticism levelled at the SACP by the ultra-left is that it has abandoned the socialist revolution in South Africa by its unconditional support of the national liberation struggle led by the ANC. Wherein does this criticism lie? Has the party broken with Marxism Leninism? Lenin approached the relationship between the socialist and national democratic revolutions by asking: "Can the class conscious worker forget the democratic struggle for the sake of the socialist struggle, or forget the latter for the sake of the former?" His reply is clear:

"A class conscious worker... understands the relation between the two struggles. He knows that there is no road to socialism save the road through democracy."

His reply to those who argued that this was an abandonment of the socialist revolution was: "Whoever wants to reach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at conclusions that are absurd and reactionary." Naturally, our situation in South Africa today does not correspond exactly with that which prevailed in Russia in those days. But in all the above, Lenin is dealing with factors which are relevant to any socialist revolution.

We, the SACP, by fighting together with our comrades in the ANC to uproot national oppression, are not therefore avoiding or postponing the struggle for socialism. We are taking the only way forward. Whilst we are fighting together with the oppressed masses for national liberation, we are simultaneously organizing the working people into our ranks and educating them about the fundamentals of socialism. We stand for an uninterrupted revolution from national liberation to socialism, which will only be achieved through a politically conscious and organized working class, led by our vanguard party, the SACP.

E. Proletarian internationalism

On a world scale, capitalism ruthlessly exploits workers. For that reason, in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, the workers need international solidarity and unity. The World Communist Movement is the material embodiment of that international solidarity. It is the most influential force in the struggle of the working people throughout the world. Being an international movement, and not just a collection of individual parties, the Communists are increasingly influencing world politics. Communists are the most active, consistent and uncompromising champions of peace and security of nations, of democracy, of national and social emancipation and of socialism. The building of socialism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries caused deep changes in the minds of the working people in capitalist countries. It defeated the bourgeois myth that workers could not run affairs in society without their bourgeois masters, and without the stimulus of capitalist profit.

The SACP is a proud and staunch member of the World Communist Movement. We stand for proletarian internationalism, without which there can be no socialist revolution. We are vigorously opposed to all efforts to undermine and deny the importance of the World Communist Movement. This Anti-Communism and Anti-Sovietism is the ideological weapon of both the imperialist bourgeoisie and of the opportunist, ultra-left petty bourgeoisie against the working class. To us, the world socialist system is the decisive force in the struggle for freedom and socialism in the world. Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, above all from the Soviet Union. The defence of existing socialism is, therefore, the internationalist duty of every Communist.

These are our positions. Far from abandoning Marxism, the Party's position underscores it. It is the ultra-left who have abandoned Marxism, despite their revolutionary sounding phrases.

The Labor Movement and the Worker's Charter

A striking feature of the current political situation in the country is the rising militancy and political consciousness of the workers and their trade unions. The militant strike actions of the railway and SA Breweries workers are examples of how worker militancy and solidarity can force the bosses reluctantly to retreat and agree to worker demands. The giant unions, NUM and NUMSA, adopted the Freedom Charter as their political programme and declared socialism their ultimate goal. Lately FAWU, the gigantic food union, also adopted the people's charter, and now COSATU has done so.

The decisions of these workers are of great historic and strategic significance for our entire struggle for national and social emancipation. The working class of our country is beginning to take a very clear political position in the current ideological debate and battle about socialism. These decisions have once more proved the correctness of the national and class perspective of our revolution as

seen by our Party and our allies. This is happening despite the pressure and terror campaign by the racist government, despite international imperialist attempts to split and destroy COSATU and its affiliates, and despite the workerists' hostility to the Freedom Charter.

But, comrades, vigilance must still be our watchword. These forces of reaction who are bent on undermining our militancy and diverting our attention from the SACP and ANC are still working overtime to realize their counter-revolutionary aims.

At this juncture, it is important for us to put our position very clearly on the question of a worker's charter. In principle, there is nothing wrong with a worker's charter. In fact, the idea of a worker's charter is not new. SACTU pioneered the idea. A few years ago, SACTU issued and distributed a draft worker's charter for discussion in factories. SACTU hoped this would encourage discussion by workers themselves and from these discussions a complete worker's charter would emerge.

At that stage developments within the trade unions and mass democratic movement generally were not sufficiently advanced to sustain this initiative. But the idea of such a worker's charter, like the Women's Charter and the Education Charter, that draws inspiration from the Freedom Charter is still entirely valid. Such a worker's charter could deepen the political and ideological unity of the Labor movement. It could play a role in ensuring a correct balance of forces within the national democratic struggle, which will lay the basis for the most speedy and uninterrupted transition to socialism.

Our conception of a worker's charter is very different from the worker's charter that some elements and groupings have been floating recently. These same elements failed to mislead and confuse our workers with the idea of an independent worker's party based on the trade unions. Now they are feverishly trying to divert our workers' attention away from the Freedom Charter. For this, they advance an alternative charter, a worker's 'socialist' charter. In all their utterances and writings, they ignore or are openly hostile to the actual vanguard working class party in our country, the SACP. They are vague about what they mean by 'socialism.' Do they mean 'capitalism with a human face' or do they mean the scientific socialism of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, etc.? No, these gentlemen's silence on these questions is very loud—fundamentally they stand opposed to scientific socialism, the SACP and socialist countries.

We call on all genuine working class militants and all democrats to adopt the following approach on the worker's charter:

— Formal adoption of the Freedom Charter is not enough. Such adoption merely opens the way for much fuller discussion, debate and mass education about the history, meaning and relevance of the Freedom Charter. Our priority must be to consolidate the ideological gains

of the NUM, NUMSA, FAWU and COSATU adoption of the Freedom Charter. We must work to ensure the Freedom Charter is widely endorsed within the trade union movement and, of course, beyond.

— It is out of this mass worker education that a meaningful worker's charter could emerge. While being vigilant about the motivation by certain elements (who are hostile to our struggle, our Party and our movement) for proposing a worker's charter, we do not oppose the idea in principle. A genuine worker's charter, which comes from the workers themselves, can play an important role in advancing our national and class struggle.

— If we move towards developing such a worker's charter, it will be important to involve the widest possible number of organizations where workers are actively involved. Trade unions will undoubtedly play the main role here, but other organizations, like civics, youth and women's organizations, must participate.

Armed Revolution

A free socialist South Africa will not fall from the sky. Nor will it come from mere debates. Liberation and socialism need a stubborn, death-defying class struggle. In South African conditions today, armed struggle is one of the most important forms of class struggle. This is precisely why all our class enemies, without exception, stand united against our armed struggle, yet they rely on their own army to crush our organizations. Especially they fear the development of a politically and militarily armed working class. An armed working class will be capable of leading an alliance to crush apartheid and capitalism. More than this, an armed working class will be necessary to defend worker's power after liberation.

To be successful, therefore, our armed struggle must be much more rooted within the leading class in our struggle, the workers. At this moment, the youth is playing the most important role in the armed struggle. With great dedication and vitality, the youth of MK have been able to strike telling blows on the enemy. We salute our young lions. At the same time, we know that the youth, as a broad social group, has objective and subjective limitations. Workers, on the other hand, are a more stable force. Workers are strategically placed. As a class, they have the capacity for large-scale, disciplined action. Let us take seriously the task of organizing and arming the workers. Every factory, every compound, every hostel a fortress of worker power.

At this time, with enemy death squads wreaking havoc in the townships, our people have no choice but to defend themselves by building disciplined and clandestine defence units in our factories and in our communities.

Let us be clear—the armed struggle is not the task of MK cadres alone, nor only of the youth and the workers. All patriots, white and black, women and men, should now come forward to join the ranks of MK.

Security and Vigilance

The Nationalists, expert students of Hitler, now use anti-communist scare tactics to smear the UDF and COSATU as agents of Moscow. In this way, they are preparing to further harass and ban these legitimate and popular organizations. The fascist propaganda should be exposed and fought against tooth and nail.

Comrades, we say again that methods which served so well in the past are no longer good enough. While we use whatever chances there are to continue with mass work of education and organization, we must recognize that new conditions need new methods and approaches. In our mass organizations we must find ways to make semi-clandestine activity more effective, more efficient and more successful in reaching the masses of our people and in evading police repression. In these times, carelessness and recklessness becomes serious crimes against our people.

All activists and militants in our organizations must begin to develop the vigilance and skills of clandestine work. Correctly applied rules of secret work do not undermine democracy. To protect our organizations and leaders from the fascist police and their agents, here are important points to consider:

— Organizing meetings: Never discuss sensitive details about meetings, times and venues of the telephone, in offices that might be bugged or with people who do not need to know. Arrange details for the next meeting before you leave the previous meeting. Establish alternative arrangements for contact. Keep the size and length of meetings to the minimum. Make every meeting count—prepare thoroughly beforehand and do not waste time. We must learn to work in smaller disciplined groups while observing democracy within our organizations.

— Roadblocks: Pass the word about the location of roadblocks to all comrades you meet. If you are carrying sensitive material be most vigilant and try to check the route shortly before travelling it. Plan action well in advance, especially around major dates on our political calendar. This can cut down on the amount of unnecessary travelling back and forth at times when the enemy is most active.

— Gossip and rumors: These are a major source of the enemy's information. Too many comrades like to brag about what they know. It's easy for such people to spread even things they have no proof of, like rumors. We must immediately stop anyone we catch doing these things. It is the duty of the leadership of our main democratic organizations to discipline those involved in gossip and rumor mongering and in leaking information about other people's clandestine activities.

— Enemy infiltration: The organizational successes of holding GC's and AGM's show that the enemy can be outwitted. That success must not lull us—we can be sure that the enemy will redouble its efforts to infiltrate our organizations. How do we guard against infiltration! Quietly check on the background of new members. Are they known in the area? Have they got gaps in their life story? Be particularly careful of people coming from distant places who speak in ultra-militant and ill-disciplined ways. People with serious political and personal problems and people who always undermine the discipline of our democratic organizations may also be agents and targets to be used by enemy infiltrators. Obviously all this checking must be done carefully and with maximum discipline by a small group of trusted comrades. Wild, unfounded accusations and spook stories cause more problems and confusion and create more space for infiltration.

— Factionalism: is not only politically dangerous, it is also a serious security problem. Factions produce disunity and confusion and it is during this chaos that infiltrators get to work undetected. We must always uphold democratic procedures and uproot factionalism from our organizations.

These are some of the basic security procedures that all militants in the mass democratic and trade union movements must observe. We need vigilance, but above all, we need militant vigilance.

Conclusion

Comrades, our most immediate tasks in the region are:

1. to spread the message of the SACP, especially to our working men and women and our youth, and to draw the best and most dedicated into our Party;
2. to popularize the Freedom Charter further, especially in the trade union movement, in order to lay the basis for the emergence of a militant worker's charter;
3. to ensure that all patriots, white and black and especially the workers, become combatants in our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe; and strengthen the ranks of the ANC.

Let all freedom fighters be extremely vigilant and outwit the enemy through:

— being politically vigilant so that our ideology is not undermined;

— by vigilance against state repression;

— and by developing new methods while ensuring that democratic processes in our organizations are adhered to.

Let us strike the enemy where he is weakest!

Forward to people's power and socialism!

Amandla Ngawethu!

07310

Sixty-Eight Percent of Whites Support P. W. Botha

34000588b Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English
13 Apr 88 p 4

[Text] White South Africans' opinions of State President Mr P.W. Botha's performance as State President have shown an upswing of support, the latest Omnichek survey reveals.

The poll, conducted last month in all the major urban centres, shows that 68 percent of the 1,300 men and women interviewed in the fact-to-face survey said they thought Mr Botha was doing a good job. This reflects a 13 percent increase in support over a same-sized survey conducted in November 1986.

The latest survey shows a new vote of confidence among the youngest group polled (18-24). A whopping increase in support among this group brings the total of 62 percent (from 43 percent) who approved to Mr Botha's role as State President.

Many of the young people who once said they did not know seem to have made up their minds. Whereas 29 percent of the 18-24 year olds took refuge in this answer in the 1986 poll, only 20 percent gave this response in the latest poll.

Six in 10 of the young men in this age group have given the State President's performance the nod of approval.

Mr Botha has scored better among the Afrikaans-speaking public in this latest poll. Seventy-three percent of the Afrikaners surveyed gave Mr Botha a "thumbs up," an increase of 13 percent over the November 1986 poll.

Respondents aged 50 and older have shown a 9 percent increase in support of the State President's leadership, bringing the total to 75 percent who feel Mr Botha is doing a good job.

This was the highest percentage of confidence Mr Botha received in the survey.

Nationwide, respondents in Durban were the most supportive of the State President's role. Seventy-four percent of them said he was doing a good job compared to the low of 64 percent of the men and women in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal area who agreed.—Sapa.

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Deputy Minister Discusses Black Opportunities
34000588c Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English
13 Apr 88 p 8

[Text] House of Assembly—Those who claimed that the real income of Whites had declined because of President P.W. Botha's policy of power sharing and that it was going better for Blacks should remember that the average income of a Black man was now R500, as against R1,732 for a White, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, said yesterday.

He said in Second Reading Debate on the Budget that the government believed that all races in South Africa were totally economically interdependent and that equal economic opportunities should be created for all.

Those who were not in a position to enjoy these opportunities should be trained to make use of them.

A Black man who knew that he could progress economically in his profession, own a house and a car and educate his children would understand what capitalism and the free enterprise approach were.

Only then would the White be able to feel safe.

"To the White, and this is my message to the CP, I say that political freedom together with economic chaos offers absolutely nothing for his future."

It was time the CP stopped distorting statistics and explained what the economic consequences of its policy would be.

The CP claimed in a recent issue of its newspaper THE PATRIOT that Whites' contribution of 93 percent to the government's tax income was now being raised further and that the lower income groups, consisting mainly of Blacks, were getting tax cuts.

Nowhere was it mentioned that this referred only to income tax.

In 1987/88 an amount of about R14 billion was collected in sales tax and customs duties, and it could be estimated that the non-White paid certainly more than 50 percent of this.

As far as company and mine taxes were concerned, did the Black man as a worker not contribute to the profitability of these companies?

The CP also said that for every R1 spent by the government, 56 cents went to the Black man.

If one took 1980 figures, the per capita subsidy for education, health, pensions and other social services was R440 for Whites as against R80 for Blacks.

"Remember further, the income of the White is about ten times higher than that of the Black man."

It had been found in 1985 that against the average expenditure per head by government on Whites of R1,059, the White taxpayer paid only R1,883 in all forms of tax.

If one remembered that a small percentage of Whites paid by far the largest proportion of taxes, it was clear that a very large percentage of Whites did not pay enough to cover their state subsidies.

The CP argued that the state's fight for wage parity between the races was one of the most important causes of inflation and that the improvement in productivity of the Black man did not compensate for increases in his pay.

It had been said however that the productivity of the large number of routine workers was decided by the quality of management and the nature of their equipment rather than the attitude of workers.

The CP also said that large amounts of money were being given to the national states, but that it was not revealed how this aid was determined.

Many of these formulas came from the Verwoerd government and the CP would surely not repudiate Dr Verwoerd.

The increase in development aid and subsidies to these states was not excessive.

Direct financial aid to the TBVC countries for 1988/89 was R1,18 billion, which should be compared to the R2 billion granted in drought aid to White farmers in South Africa since 1986.

/12913

Government's Sale of Black Housing Unsuccessful
34000588a Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
29 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by Chris Cairncross]

[Text] The state's attempts to encourage residents of Soweto and other nearby black townships to take out 99-year leases and, more recently, to purchase freehold title on their properties, has been singularly unsuccessful.

In the three satellite towns of Soweto, Diepmeadow and Dobsonville, only 4,863 residents applied for 99-year lease rights last year; and only one resident applied to purchase freehold rights, according to information supplied to Parliament by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Answering a question from Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton), Heunis indicated the state was no longer involved in constructing any more housing schemes in these three areas.

The private sector, on the other hand, is involved with six schemes in greater Soweto involving the construction of about 3,759 units. These are all expected to be completed some time this year.

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MILITARY

Vulnerability of SAAF Described
34000587b Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English
28 Mar 88 p 19

[Article by Don Holliday. First paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The loss nine days ago of another South African Air Force Mirage fighter jet aircraft in the Namibia operational area has raised the question—in the light of the international embargo on arms sales to South Africa—of how vulnerable is South Africa's position in respect of supplies of fighter aircraft and spares. The answer is not clear but speculative reports do give an indication. Don Holliday reports.

South Africa's up-dating conversion of the Mirage 3 jet fighter to the Cheetah has stopped a gap but not solved a problem.

This is the opinion of Mr Chris Foss, Military Editor of the authoritative journal, *JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY*.

"Every time South Africa loses a plane it's a write-off. Angola and the other Frontline countries simply have their numbers brought up to strength from time to time. That's the final problem South Africa must face," Mr Foss commented at the time of the 1986 unveiling of the Cheetah.

The loss last week of a SAAF Mirage and its pilot, Major J.W. van Copenhagen, brought to three the confirmed number of pilots missing in the Namibia/Angola region since November last year.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, assessed the South African Air Force's total combat aircraft capacity as 356.

A breakdown of specific types of aircraft was not available but in 1985 a French publication with a reputation for the accuracy of its scoops, *LE CANARD ENCHAINE*, reported that South Africa originally purchased 56 Mirage 3s and 46 Mirage F1s from the French Dassault Aviation Corporation.

Spares in Contract

This purchase included a contract for supply of spares, which prompted a Dassault engineer to explain: "When we are selling one Mirage we are really selling three when you include the spare parts."

The 1977 mandatory embargo on arms sales to South Africa included the cancellation of spare parts supply agreements.

In 1983, the then head of the SAAF, Lieutenant-General A.M. Muller, said in an interview with the American magazine, AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, that the air force was busy with an investigation into what aircraft needed to be built in South Africa.

Even before the arms embargo, the need for improved fighter aircraft was recognised.

The first option was upgrading of existing machines, a result of which was the Cheetah, a modified Mirage 3 reputed to have a top speed in excess of the Mach 2.2 claimed by the Soviet-built MiG-23 which is currently active against South African forces in Angola.

The Impala, primarily a jet fighter trainer, has been built by the Atlas Aircraft Corporation since 1967.

It was difficult to assess the success of the Cheetah project as it had not yet been properly deployed in operational conditions.

"But there was a general realisation of the need for a completely new fighter," said Professor Hough.

"The enormous costs involved in such a project as well as the scarcity of the sophisticated technology have been the main prohibitive factors.

"The development of the Israeli Lavi jet fighter cost in the region of R580 million before the Israelis shelved the project last year. The scheme was believed to place too much of a burden on an already strained economy.

"A potential export market for the finished product is an important factor as it can provide much of the funding," said Professor Hough.

Lucrative Job Offers

When the Lavi scheme was stopped, it was reported that South Africa was wooing the Israeli aeronautical engineers with lucrative job offers in the South African arms manufacturing industry.

A spokesman for Armscor said at the time: "Officially we do not canvass for staff abroad," but it was later reported that 50 aeronautical engineers had arrived in

South Africa. It was also speculated that South Africa could, at a later stage, establish a plant near Pretoria to manufacture a fighter jet, probably a scaled down version of the Lavi plane.

Referring to last month's successful air raid on South West Africa People's Organisation bases in Lubango, southern Angola, Professor Hough said a rumour was doing the rounds in military analytical circles that these engineers had been instrumental in ensuring the SAAF jets evaded detection by the highly-sophisticated radar installations at the disposal of the Angolan government.

These radar installations gave rise to Angolan claims in November 1985 that the SAAF had lost the vital air superiority it had previously enjoyed in operations in the country.

This claim was not entirely correct. Because there were instances of localised air dominance by Angolan forces, the SAAF were concerned about the loss of often irreplaceable equipment, Professor Hough said.

It was an indication of how important South Africa viewed the Angolan situation that they were prepared to risk aircraft in the region.

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Armscor's New Video Spy-in-the-Sky Spotter Plane Launched With SAAF

34000587a Johannesburg THE STAR in English
28 Mar 88 p 7

[Article by Jaap Boekkooi]

[Text] The latest weapon in South Africa's war effort, Armscor's newly-developed video spy-in-the-sky spotter plane, has gone into service with the SA Air Force as a long-arm aerial "reccie."

An Armscor spokesman said this week that the small pilotless reconnaissance plane, with its 6 m wingspan and directed from a highly sophisticated mobile ground station, may never again be seen at public air shows in South Africa "because most of its components are highly classified."

The first model of the plane, which was a feature of the recent Armscor exhibit in Santiago, Chile, was shown last week at the Aviation Africa exhibition at Rand Airport.

The Seeker, as it is known, carries a highly complex directional video camera below its fuselage that can be trained on any enemy installation. It also sports a radar dish on top to transmit instantaneous radio pictures back to the mother station guiding it.

If attempts are made to shoot down the Seeker craft, its vital intelligence data will already be back at base station. Downing a Seeker would be difficult because its small model engine, around the size of a lawn-mower two-stroke, does not produce enough radiation to attract heat-seeking missiles.

The plane will bring a unique new dimension to warfare in the operational area. For it can take off from a small clearing in the bush, and photograph Swapo or Fapla bases, missile sites or army columns as far as 200km into hostile territory.

Video pictures taken by this spy-in-the-sky craft come out clearly through a reception network run from the back of an army truck, as shown in a sample picture of a train taken from the Seeker at the Rand Airport air display.

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ECONOMIC

Iscor Increases Exports; Not Affected by Sanctions

34000555c Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
27 Mar 88

[Article by Don Robertson]

[Text] Sanctions against South Africa have had no effect on Iscor's steel exports.

In fact, exports have increased from 30 percent of total production four years ago to 40 percent.

Nols Olivier, senior general manager in charge of marketing, says in an interview in Iscor's house magazine—Isorian—that the corporation knew it would lose the American market and others were developed.

Mr Olivier says: "At one stage we were exporting to 80 countries, but have consciously reduced this to about 60 selected markets. As long as we maintain our competitive edge in terms of quality and keen pricing, sanctions will not have much of a bite."

Iscor's work force is 57,000 compared with 70,000 before the rationalisation programme was instituted in 1984. Steel production was 7.2-million tons in 1982, but fell to 6-million tons in 1983 and 1984. It is now back to 7-million tons.

Iscor is not particularly worried about expanding steel production by Taiwan, Brazil and South Korea.

"It does not seriously affect Iscor's current position as the 16th-largest producer in the free world since our marketing policy differs from theirs."

However, Iscor does not see any increase in its production capacity in the next 10 to 15 years.

Whether or not Iscor retains its present ranking in production capacity is of no concern. What is more important is that Iscor produces high quality steel and performs competitively in domestic and foreign markets.

Mr Olivier says Iscor recently set a world record for the output of tinplate by producing 30,000 tons in one month. Studies are being undertaken to establish a R70-million plant for tin-free steel in 1990. Tin-free steel has a coating of chromium oxide which is a substitute for tinplate in various applications.

Only Five

Iscor will supply 40,000 tons of ultra-high-grade steel for the offshore part of the Moss gas project and could supply 39,000 tons for the onshore development. Iscor is one of only five producers in the world able to produce this high-grade steel.

It is also discussing with motor manufacturers the possibility of producing electro-coated steel for use in cars. Mr Olivier says building of an electro-galvanising plant has been accepted in principle.

It has developed a low-alloy steel for car wheels. This has effectively replaced imports of this steel and about 50,000 wheels are exported each month.

Iscor is considering the production of stainless steel slabs and hot-rolled coils at its Vanderbijlpark plant for export.

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Mintek Report: Dominance of World Chromium Market Continues

34000585b Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business)
in English 10 Apr 88 p 1

[Article by Ian Smith]

[Text] International attempts to loosen South Africa's grip on the world chromium market are not meeting with much success.

For more than a decade developed countries have been searching for substitutes for chromium in the manufacture of stainless steel and so reduce their dependence on SA for at least one strategic mineral.

But a Council for Mineral Technology (Mintek) report says after a worldwide investigation of the search for substitutes:

- The corrosion-resistant properties conferred by chromium on stainless steels cannot be matched by other elements.

- Low-chromium alloys which have been developed with good resistance to oxidation have poor mechanical properties.
- The generally higher raw material price, fabrication difficulties and poorer overall performance of the new alloys "should prevent them from taking the place of conventional stainless steels to any significant degree."

The soaring nickel price since Mintek did its sums has put substitutes even further out of play.

Backing

Mintek's conclusions have been backed by a similar study by China.

SA supplies about half of the free world's chromium and is believed to have about 75 percent of known world reserves of chrome ore. The failure to find a substitute will be a severe blow to campaigns for sanctions against SA.

Russia is the world's next most important supplier.

The report was prepared by Michael Cortie, group leader of Mintek's physical metallurgy division.

Dr Cortie says: "There have been claims that breakthroughs have been made in the development of low-chromium substitutes. The report's aim is to ensure that the situation is put into perspective and that the industry, internationally, is aware of all the facts."

An exhaustive study was made of research and technical data throughout the world.

"The findings are positive for South Africa," says Dr Cortie.

The report is being distributed to industry and mining leaders in SA and other countries.

US stainless-steel producers fear that their attempts to reduce dependence on SA by widening their list of supplier countries could rebound on them.

They say that their efforts and the strong pro-sanctions lobby in the US have caused SA suppliers to diversify their markets, looking increasingly to Europe and the Far East while reducing the priority traditionally accorded to the US.

Increasing stainless-steel production has driven the price of nickel and ferrochrome to high levels and a general shortage of the raw materials could affect US steel output.

About half of the world's chromium output is used to make stainless steel, and half of this goes into a single stainless-steel grade—type 304.

This grade contains about 18 percent chromium compared with proposed substitute alloys containing between 9 percent and 12 percent.

"The resistance to corrosion or oxidation that is lost by the reduction of chromium is supposedly compensated for by additions of elements such as molybdenum, silicon, aluminum and vanadium," says the report.

"Nevertheless, the optimistic claims by many of the researchers are not supported by the data they present. In general, these alternative alloys have a markedly inferior resistance to corrosion, poorer mechanical properties and a higher cost than type 304 stainless steel."

It says several alloys have been developed which have better resistance to oxidation than type 304 by the addition of up to 4 percent aluminium or silicon or both. But they still need at least 8 percent chromium.

Potential

"These alloys appear to have considerable potential, although they are not as easy to fabricate as type 304."

The cost of raw materials for a ton of type 304 stainless steel ranges from \$730 to \$1,020. Raw material costs for substitute alloys suggested in one US paper would be between \$960 and \$1,290.

Raw materials for another substitute suggested in the US would cost between \$1,670 and \$2,380 a ton.

The latest US official report on "critical minerals" says that about 30 percent of US imports of chromium could be cut in an emergency. But the remainder is indispensable to the economy.

"In fact, even this view is somewhat optimistic," says Mintek.

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Taiwanese Investors' Activities Detailed

34000585c Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY in English*
11 Apr 88 p 13

[Text] With some 120 Taiwanese (Republic of China—RoC) factories already established in SA's decentralised areas, further developments are in the offing for 1988.

Randburg-based Alkhan Industrial Consultants (AIC) has been instrumental in moving six manufacturing plants from RoC and four from Hong Kong between November, 1987 and February, 1988—and more are coming.

"I have just returned from the RoC where I addressed interested gatherings of some 140 industrialists in Taipei and a further 32 in Tainan. My assessment is that at

some 14-20 RoC firms will make the move to SA in the near future, leading to the creation of a further 10,000-odd jobs in the black homeland areas," says AIC MD Schalk Coetzee.

Potential RoC investors include manufacturers of watches, sunglasses, umbrellas, shoes and vertically integrated weaving, spinning and clothing plants. Hong Kong industrialists were also met on an individual basis, and Coetzee intends repeating his "most successful" trip to the Far East in September.

SA not only attracts valuable foreign exchange investments, but broadens its manufacturing base and upgrades worker skills through the interface with sophisticated Far Eastern technology and management skills, adds Coetzee. Areas that benefit include Lebowa, Kwa-zulu, Bophuthatswana, Bloemfontein, Botshabelo, Newcastle, East London and George.

But what induces successful Far Eastern industrialists to move to SA?

RoC's embarrassment of riches (it holds foreign exchange reserves of some US\$77bn) and its hugely successful export drives of the past decade have increased per capita income in the erstwhile Third World nation to such an extent that the New Taiwanese dollar appreciated by some 40 percent against the US dollar over the past year. This, as well as strong US pressures on the four Far Eastern "Little Dragons"—Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Singapore—forced RoC last year to allow, for the first time, off-shore investments of US\$5m per individual.

Forex Earnings

By moving productive capability offshore, a competitive edge can still be retained in the export market. Assiduous marketing of SA's attractive regional development incentives packages therefore created the climate for increased investment interest in SA's decentralised areas—and AIC has been very successful in marketing these packages.

But AIC's efforts are not limited to the Far East. During the same period from November, 1987 to February, it was instrumental in relocating four South African companies and one each from Israel and the UK. Total private sector investments—including those from the Far East—amount to some R20m, with at least 50 percent of the new factories exporting a "substantial amount" of their produce, adding to SA's forex earnings.

The new plants manufacture a wide range of goods, including educational toys, clothing, video tapes, tobacco, teeth care products, display packaging, plastic injection moulding and engineering equipment. Being labour intensive, more than 3,000 new job opportunities have been created, while utilising 25,000 sq m of factory space.

AIC's success recipe for convincing both local and foreign firms to move their factories include financial risk analyses and the identification of the most suitable growth point for a client by means of computer-based techniques.

During the next year Coetzee expects AIC to relocate a further 55 companies (apart from the new prospects just unearthed in the Far East) whose applications have already been approved by the relevant authorities. Of these, four are from Israel, three from Italy, 11 from Hong Kong, 21 from Taiwan, two from India and one from the UK. The balance of 13 are relocating South African industrialists.

Coetzee estimates this total investment to be R66m, with some R30m being investments by foreign investors through the financial rand mechanism.

"By the end of July, 1989, a further 10,000 job opportunities would have been created throughout southern Africa, leading to the manufacture of gold chains, leather and plastic products, sport shoes, office furniture, clothing, woven plastic bags, power tools, textiles, fashion shoes, umbrellas and the processing of semi-precious stones, diamond cutting and polishing, and the processing of marble and granite," says Coetzee.

New factory space to be occupied will total some 70,000 sq meters, with about a third to be erected and bought by the industrialists themselves.

With some 13,000 new job opportunities in the pipeline or already created, a multiplier factor of five dependants per worker leads to 65,000 people that will receive income from these new ventures.

Coetzee says sanctions fall by the wayside when foreign investors assess bottom line considerations (net profits and maximum dividends) at stake here.

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Campaign To Recruit Skilled Israeli Professionals Launched

34000555a Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 10 Apr 88 p 5

[Article by Julie Walker]

[Text] Israel has become a hunting ground for professional recruitment by South African businesses.

Don Gray International, the computer and allied personnel recruitment company, was formed in November 1987 and is managed by Peter Roman.

Mr Roman engineered the merger of his business with Don Gray's recruitment arm because he saw a gap in its services.

Mr Roman, an Israeli, came to South Africa on what he calls an LSD trip—look, see, decide—14 years ago. "I originally intended to be here for three years, but I stayed."

Mr Roman's policy differs from other recruiting agencies. He builds a stock of candidates on his books from which his client can choose. He started looking for talent in Israel only two months ago, and has had more than 400 responses from skilled people wanting to work in SA.

High Fees

"In Israel, a professional work-seeker will automatically have to pay \$1,000 registration fee to an agency, and there is no guarantee of work. The business which employs a candidate also pays heavily."

Don Gray International does not charge the work-seeker, and has attracted much attention. "At first we worded our advertisements so that no direct reference was made to South Africa—we referred to an English-speaking country.

"But we soon found that was unnecessary. Several members of the South African Government in Israel presented a talk on this country and we made video-tapes available."

Military commitments in Israel are even more demanding than in SA. Although an entrepreneurial nation, many Israelis find it impossible to run their own businesses because call-up duty lasts two months a year, and sickness and holidays can account for another two months.

Demanding

The cost of living is another factor. Inflation was rampant until recently, and a flat in a good area will set one back \$300,000—in cash.

There are cultural differences and Mr Roman is able to brief the prospective worker on what to expect.

The first appointees will arrive in SA shortly, and Mr Roman will lend a hand.

"Our client must be 100 percent happy that the employee is giving him 100 percent effort. So we advise the employee for the entire duration of his assignment, be it on permits, housing, schooling, spouse employment, cars and other problems.

Don Gray has introduced a novel yet effective way of conducting an interview with a candidate who is overseas. An interview is conducted by Don Gray's agent. It is video-taped and sent to SA for review. If more information is required, or specialised knowledge is sought, questions can be asked in a similar manner.

The advantage is a large cost saving for the employer. For example, a week in Israel, including air fares and hotel accommodation can cost more than R5,000.

Novel Method

Using videos, the employer is able to see the potential worker and judge whether he will fit the bill.

"We want customers on both sides to keep coming back to us," says Mr Roman.

Don Gray is already well known in Israel and a full branch of Don Gray International will be established there.

"We are not bringing in the ordinary computer programmer, we are looking for highly skilled people of which South Africa is very short. A study has shown that there are only 6,500 people available to fill 8,000 posts."

Co-operation from the SA Government means that it may take only six weeks for clearance through official channels for an Israeli coming to work in SA. They are allowed to send 70 percent of their earnings out of SA, but Mr Roman tries to persuade people to stay once their assignment has been completed.

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Electronics Sector To Become Top Sector in Industry

34000554c Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
11 Apr 88 p 1

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text] Following the release of a top level report, government sources said at the weekend the electronics industry would become the largest industrial sector by the mid-1990s with a market value topping the R12bn mark.

The Business and MARKETING Intelligence (BMI) report was compiled for government's Standing Committee on Electronics (SCE) and private sector interests.

Worth R6,3bn in 1986 and R6,8bn last year, forecasts now indicate the industry's total market value will hit the R8,8bn mark next year and is set to top the R10bn mark for 1990.

BMI research—based on supplier forecasts and public sector budgets—indicates the total market for equipment alone will grow by 15 percent to R7,8bn for 1988 and by 13 percent in 1989.

The 1987 estimated value of the market (R6,8bn), showed an 8,8 percent increase on 1986 which in turn represented a growth in rand terms of 16 percent from the 1985 total of R5bn. This was 16 percent up on 1984.

The findings have already been submitted to the Working Group for the Electronics Industry (WGEI) headed up by SCE chairman Carel van der Merwe. The WGEI was formed by government to formulate policy and consists of private and public sector representatives.

Van der Merwe said: "The report confirmed previous findings and the industry looks set to become SA's largest by the mid-1990s."

He said one of the disappointing features was the high level of imports (50 percent). "We are busy studying the results at present and will have a report for the minister by mid-year. At first glance the import figures are disappointing. SA is currently the sixth biggest importer of electronics in the world. We have got to do more locally."

Out of the total market value of equipment in 1986 (R6,3bn) imports at FOB prices accounted for R1,8bn which represented nearly 45 percent of the market.

An analysis of the value added components of the total market shows 42 percent of the R6,3m is local value, which includes supplier markup.

One of the surprises in the report was that by 1989, the information technology sector will account for R4,5bn out of a total market of R8,8bn. Growth in the software sector will be 24 percent a year for 1988 and 1989, with EDP hardware seeing 20 percent growth in 1988 and 12 percent in 1989.

BMI divisional manager Alan Paul said: "Reflecting an awareness of certain social issues and constraints, the security industry is likely to achieve the highest growth in any sector. From last year's R220m base, a compounded increase of 59 percent is expected by the end of 1989. In cash terms this means a figure of R350m."

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Motor Industry Experiencing Upsurge
34000554a Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English
13 Apr 88 p 22

[Article by Madden Cole]

[Text] The South African motor industry is experiencing its best season in years and the general outlook is that the boom is expected to continue.

Sales figures released by Naamsa yesterday show that new vehicle sales continued at an impressive rate during March with market remaining buoyant and setting new monthly highs since the market's crash in mid-1984.

Naamsa director Nico Vermeulen says all four sectors of the industry continued to benefit from strong consumer demand and business investment. March new car sales advanced by 11.2 percent to 22,032 units compared with February new car sales of 19,820 units.

Well Up

New commercial vehicle sales recorded a more modest improvement, but remained well up to January 1988 industry sales.

Mr Vermeulen believes that the improvement last month was largely as a result of continued strong replacement demand and the fact that vehicle manufacturers have been able to satisfy a considerable backlog in orders.

Orders on hand for vehicles in all sectors of the industry remain substantial and in the case of the commercial vehicle sector, commitments to purchase new trucks and buses stretched well into the second half of the year.

With the industry's new car and commercial vehicle sales returning to more normal levels, Mr Vermeulen expects that future monthly sales will start to consolidate around the industry's February and March 1988 sales performance.

Results of a study among a representative sample of motor firms in South Africa by the Bureau of Economic Research of Stellenbosch University (BER), show that 90 percent of firms polled reported that they had placed orders for new vehicles during the first quarter and 85 percent reported that they intended to place further orders between April and June.

BER director Dr Ockie Stuart states that this indicates a clear expectation among these firms that the demand for new vehicles is likely to remain at this "vigorous level for at least the next six months." However he expects that the demand for cars could start tapering off toward mid-year.

Buoyant

"But going by both the actual sales recorded during the first quarter and the expectation of sales for the second quarter, the motor trade is clearly in a very buoyant state indeed."

Toyota marketing director Brand Pretorius points out that the 28.4 percent increase in new vehicle sales figures above the January-March figures last year, amounts to an increase of nearly 20,000 vehicles.

He says passenger vehicle sales in March were the highest since June 1984, light commercial sales the best since June 1984 and the combined medium and heavy commercial commercials the highest since November 1985.

Supply-Driven

"The industry is increasingly buoyant. The figures are not a reflection of true demand and because of stock shortages by manufacturers, it's a supply-driven situation."

With a 26 percent increase in new passenger vehicle sales in March Delta Motors again gained top position for the overall industry improvement for the month.

Vehicle sales and marketing director Willie van Wyk says the company's sales achievements in March placed it firmly on target for 40,000 unit sales this year.

Toyota led the total vehicle sales with sales of 8,532 units, followed by Samcor with 6,372 units. Top sellers were VW Golf/Jetta/Fox (4,290 units) Toyota Corolla (3,394), Opel Kadet/Monza (1,868).

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Breakthrough Made in Mining Lubricant Technology

34000554b Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
6 Apr 88 p 5

[Article by Robert Gentle]

[Text] A breakthrough in mining lubricant technology has been made at Iscor's Glen Douglas dolomite mine, according to Karbochem—a member of the Sentrachem group.

The lubricant, Senfluid, is water-based and is the result of five years of co-operation with Iscor to find a substitute for mineral and synthetic oils. It has a film strength at least twice that of mineral oils.

Karbochem says the new lubricant has been successfully tested in two crushers at the Glen Douglas mine.

Senfluid's marketing manager Gideon Louw says: "The mine's crusher is functionally smoother, with greater safety, quieter running and lower operating temperatures."

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KwaZulu Industry, Agriculture Get Boost

34000555b Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
6 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text] With a record capex budget of more than R139m for 1988/89, the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation (KFC) is poised to provide a massive boost to small industry, agriculture and home building in the region.

The budget, which was accepted by the KFC board last week, shows an increase of 41 percent over 1987/88. The KFC's investment department has also budgeted for a record R75,75m—an increase of 63 percent over the previous year.

Included in the KFC's development department's budget of R51,8m are projects in agriculture, small industry, commerce and housing. This budget is 16 percent higher than the R44,6m spent in 1987/88.

The estimated number of clients serviced directly—excluding 8,700 black cane growers—is 14,108.

KFC executive director Marius Spies says: "The average amount a loan granted was R9,933 and the total amount loaned to clients increased from R112m to R132m.

"These figures clearly demonstrate the rapid strides the KFC is making."

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Commercial Forests To Double in Size Due to Boom in Timber Industry

34000585a Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business)
in English 10 Apr 88 p 1

[Article by Udo Rypstra]

[Excerpts] A boom in pulp, paper and timber is expected to double the size of commercial forests in SA in the next 10 years.

More than a million hectares of agricultural land is expected to be planted with timber to meet SA and Far Eastern demand.

Most of the land is under sugar cane. Because forests diminish rainfall runoff, afforestation is strictly controlled by the Department of Forestry. It prefers high rainfall areas close to the coast to be planted with timber.

But the department has granted permits for the conversion of 130,000ha of agricultural land to forestry use in the past three years.

By the Dozen

The department is receiving dozens of applications from farmers wishing to switch from cane to timber. Most of the applications are from Zululand, the Natal Midlands, the Vryheid-Tygerberg region and the Crocodile River valley in the Eastern Transvaal.

The Government has earmarked 1,25-million hectares of land for conversion to timber growing. Conversion on the scale would virtually double the size of SA's commercial forests.

Growers hope to cash in on the shortage of hardwood pulp, increasing demand for pine pulp, attractive export contracts with Japan lasting into the year 2002, the diminishing profitability of cane caused by the world sugar surplus, and Government incentives.

The privatisation of some Government forests, which comprise about 30 percent of the 1,2-million hectares used for timber has also stirred the interest in the industry. A White Paper is expected soon on the timber industry and forests.

SA needs to plant an extra 39,000 ha of forest a year to meet demand. In spite of the 130,000ha approved for conversion, an average of only 15,000ha a year has been planted in the past two years.

Forestry officials believe SA will run into a shortage of pinewood in five years. More than 81 percent of conversion applications are for hardwood.

Major players in the pulp, paper and timber industry are Anglo American's Mondi, Gencor's Sappi, Hunt Leuchars & Hepburn, which is part of Rembrandt and Saiicor. Sappi generated record turnover of R1,312-million (up 19 percent on 1986) in the past year and earned distributable profits of R162-million (up 142 percent).

Sappi expects even bigger turnover this year as exports grow.

Mondi, which derives 30 percent of its turnover from exports, provided Anglo American Investment Corporation with earnings of R91-million last year—an increase of 81 percent on the R53-million in the previous year.

Competition

Most big timber growers belong to the Forestry Owners Association (FOA). About 1,800 independents belong to the SA Timber Growers Association (Satga). Their ranks could be increased by the entry of former cane farmers.

Some cane farmers, such as SA Cane Growers Association chairman John Chance, have sold out to the forestry majors. They are farming cane elsewhere.

Potentially a major entrant in the forestry industry is Shell, which has bought more than 8,000ha of land, including Mr Chance's farm in the past two years for forests. It is hungry for more.

Terry McCulloch, managing director of Shell's forestry division, says the oil giant is interested in taking over Government plantations.

Shell uses highly mechanised production techniques and prefers flat ground. It finds suitable land scarce and competition to acquire it keen.

Some farmers hoped that Shell's interest in cane lands indicated its desire to produce methanol from sugar. But Shell says it wishes to diversify into forestry—as it is doing in Brazil, New Zealand, Chile and Thailand.

Mr McCulloch says Shell planted 1,000ha of the 15,000ha of new plantations last year. It will plant another 1,000ha every year until all of its 8,000ha of land has been converted. It bought another 254ha two weeks ago.

Because of favourable climatic conditions trees grow quickly in SA. It takes about eight years—almost half the growth period in the northern hemisphere—for trees to reach cutting size.

Sources say Mondi, Sappi, Shell and HL&H are all bidding for cane fields and independent forestry plantations in Zululand.

HLH is said to be the most active buyer. The company is playing its cards close to the chest. Managing director Neil Morris says the matter is "strictly confidential."

Questions about Sappi's involvement were referred to forestry director Peter Stoker, who was "not available."

Mondi managing director Tony Trahar says his company bought land, including cane fields, last year. He refuses to say how much.

Mr Trahar says the new Mondi mill at Richards Bay has led to cane farmers, burdened by high transport costs to faraway sugar mills, selling out to timber and wood-pulp processors or switching to forestry.

The increasing stake of the major forestry players led to a dispute between Satga and FOA last year. Satga claims that the corporations kept wood pulp prices down in an effort to squeeze independents out of the market. But FOA denied this, saying the prices were market related and there was enough room for everyone.

Satga general manager Bruce Ferguson says land purchases by the majors is "a continuing process which we view with great concern."

SOCIAL

Increasing Number of Black Engineers Graduating
34000586d Johannesburg THE STAR in English
17 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by James Clarke]

[Text] Within the next few years South Africa could have hundreds of black professional engineers—thanks to the initiative of the SA Institution of Civil Engineers. Most will have come out of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Last year almost 25 percent of Wits first year engineering students were from "disadvantaged" educational backgrounds, mostly blacks. This year more than 60 blacks entered engineering courses.

Among those who received a preparatory course at Wits before entering first year, 75 percent passed.

Johannesburg consulting civil engineer, Mr Cliff McMillan (45), who last night was inducted at Johannesburg's Kelvin House as one of the youngest presidents of the SA Institution of Civil Engineers, helped initiate the scheme.

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CPA Launches Executive Training Program for Blacks

34000586a Cape Town *THE ARGUS* in English
21 Mar 88 p 4

[Text] A programme to train black graduates for senior executive posts in local authorities throughout the Cape has been launched, according to the MEC for Community Services and Black Local Authorities in the Cape Provincial Administration, Mr T.W. Nyati.

Mr Nyati said the training of staff for the whole Cape Province would take place at the Mtombolwazi Training College outside Port Elizabeth.

"At Mtombolwazi we have established an infrastructure to train people in the public administration skills required in a local authority," he said.

Facilities were available for the training of town clerks, treasurers and senior administrative staff, he added.

"We are presently on a recruitment drive for at least 15 black graduates who will be trained for appointment at Chief Executive Officer and Departmental Head level."

The first course, which has been structured on a modular basis where theoretical instruction will be interspersed with practical training, starts in May this year.

Practical training will be done at local authorities throughout the Cape Province and successful trainees will be placed with black local authorities as Chief Executive Officers or Departmental Heads.

As Chief Executive Officers they will be responsible for management, financial planning and control, liaison with other departments and development of infrastructure.

Interested? Contact the Office for Community Services, Port Elizabeth at 041 390 2286 or 390 2060.—Sapa

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National Health Reports Alarming Number of Malnutrition Cases

34000586c Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
13 Apr 88 p 15

[Text] Cape Town—Surveys had revealed an alarming number of cases of malnutrition in South Africa, the Department of National Health said in its report for 1987 tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The report also gave details of a survey carried out in April and May last year among pre-school Black children in Botshabelo in the Orange Free State, which found about 15,1 percent of the children were underweight and that 35,5 percent showed significant growth retardation.

Among children younger than three years, 16,8 percent were underweight and 40,5 percent showed retarded growth.

This indicated the nutritional status of this group was lower than that of the older children.

Funds were made available annually for subsidising the buying of skimmed milk powder or a protein-vitamin-mineral mixture by local authorities.

Because of the present economic climate, population growth and drought, there was an increase in the number of children at risk of developing protein-energy malnutrition.

As a result of this, local authorities found it difficult to participate fully in the scheme because they could not contribute their part to the costs.

At the time the report went to Press, an investigation was being conducted in the OFS region into the effectiveness of the scheme.

Referring to the emergency food scheme, the report said the scheme, which originated in 1985, had from its inception not been meant to be a permanent one.

The intention had been that as the emergency conditions prevailing at the time improved, the scheme would be systematically phased out.

A step in this direction was taken when the Cabinet decided that the scheme would be managed by own affairs administrations with effect from 1 April 1987.

Surveys had shown that at present there were no large scale cases of acute physical hunger, but that there were an alarming number of malnutrition cases.

The department was currently giving attention to this problem.

Some 95,000 Black people, mainly in the Southern Transvaal, Eastern Cape and Cape Peninsula, were provided with emergency rations each month.—Sapa.

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Durban, Maritzburg Registered as Crime Capitals of World

34000586b Johannesburg THE STAR in English
28 Mar 88 p 6

[Text] Durban—Durban and Maritzburg have become the new crime capitals of the world as the unrest and flagging economy tighten the violence's grip on the province.

Their crime rates are higher than in Los Angeles and New York, according to figures obtained from America, while Durban's daily murder figure is higher even than that in Medellin, the Colombian city that has attained notoriety for deaths related to vicious cocaine wars.

During the last six months of 1987, the number of murders in Natal soared by 53 percent and robberies by 45 percent, police say.

Opposition politicians have claimed that the police cannot cope with the crime wave and that the Government is incapable of tackling its causes.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis, says the statistics demonstrate beyond doubt that the crime rate is rising. The causes are obviously related to political unrest and the economy, he says, problems which the Government has proved incapable of solving.

There is a grave shortage of policemen and the force is being "extended beyond its limits by the unrest."

Fellow PFP MP Mr Harry Schwarz said the crime problem was so serious it threatened the country's stability. Every minute, there was one assault on a person and two on property.

"The truth is that crime is a fearful spreading social disease that has to be controlled, it is affecting the stability of the country and is a handmaiden of revolution," he told Parliament.

Unacceptably High

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said last week the crime rate was unacceptably high and was being given highest priority by the police.

The increase in recent years had coincided with the surge in unrest, he said.

A multipronged campaign had been launched to counter the increasing crime and had already succeeded in some areas, Mr Vlok said.

In 1986, at the height of the unrest, Mr Vlok told a meeting of the Security Association of South Africa that at times, police crime prevention in some of the larger centres had come virtually to a halt.

The situation has since stabilised in most of the country, Natal being the notable exception.

Mr Vlok's spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said Natal's crime figures for 1987 had inflated and distorted those for the entire country. Police had succeeded in putting a brake on crime in most of the country.

According to figures for the Maritzburg region released by Mr Vlok in Parliament recently, the murder rate in Edendale Valley had doubled and 623 people had been killed in the area patrolled by the Plessislaer police station. In 1986 this figure was only 298.

In Durban, the number of murders increased from 1,534 in 1986 to 1,557 in 1987, culpable homicides from 685 to 739, and assaults with intent from 6,341 to a chilling 10,473.

Brigadier Mellet has said recent weeks have brought encouraging signs that crime in Natal is beginning to ease off and that police were confident of an improvement during the year.

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Refugees Return From Southern Sudan
34000567b Kampala THE NEW VISION in English
7 Apr 88 pp 1, 12

[Article by Sam Serwanga in Koboko]

[Text] A total of 5,357 Ugandans who fled to the Sudan in the 1979 war returned to Uganda on Tuesday in a 64-trailer convoy from Yei Yei.

The returnees, many of them rugged, dusty but healthy and happy with a lease of hope on their faces for starting life anew in their homeland, had started the trek three weeks ago from the various refugee resettlement centres in Southern Sudan.

About 80,000 Ugandan refugees, including the aged, are still in Limuro reception centre, awaiting transport to return home. Many of the returnees in the 5,357 group were people of two to eight years, and they were setting their feet, for the first time, on their motherland. A few of the returnees were aged, but able enough to walk part of the journey back, and the middle aged ones.

The repatriation exercise has smoothly went on well, save for the sudden outbreak of measles which has claimed five lives among the children, and the mishap that befell the group at Limuro resettlement centre in the Sudan where five returnees were killed by the marauding SPLA rebel soldiers. Three others were wounded and are now admitted to Yei Yei Hospital.

According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) field officer for the West Nile area, Mr Chris Thorne, he has imposed quarantine restriction on the Koboko, Yumbe and Ombaci reception centres where all returnees will be screened for measles cases before they could be allowed to go to their home areas.

The German Emergency Doctor official at the Ombaci Reception Centre, Miss Anna Morris, said she had identified 14 measles cases in the group of 1,517 returnees by Tuesday midnight.

One person had earlier in the evening died of measles, and a second case followed yesterday morning. But the symptoms of the second case showed anaemia and dehydration. By yesterday afternoon Miss Morris had identified 34 cases suffering from measles.

Yumbe Reception Centre received 2,350 returnees by Tuesday afternoon.

Vaccination of all children at reception centres started yesterday morning.

Mr Thorne said the measles epidemic arose from the fact that returnees had been clamped together at Yei Yei for so long without identifying cases which had already been infected.

The leader of the returnees at Ombaci Reception Centre, Mr Mark Aramiga Baikai, said children had died of measles at Yei Yei. "Vaccination started two days before we departed from Yei Yei. A good number of the returnee child population is not vaccinated," Baikai added. Another German Emergency Doctor pediatrician nurse, Miss Claidia Arndt said she had identified one measles case at Koboko Reception Centre with about 1,590 returnees. But the exercise of identifying the measles cases is still going on. I expect many more since one child had died on the way from Yei Yei to Koboko," she said.

She noted there were no cases of starvation, but malnutrition among the child population arose out of social factors like mothers failing to feed their children nutritional foodstuffs which may be available.

Rehabilitation Ministry field staff in Moyo have also reported an influx of over 10,000 spontaneous returnees who needed emergency food relief.

Moyo District has been hit by drought that some of the returnees, who would have ably fended for themselves, have had their crops withered.

Emergency food relief to the area has been hampered by lack of transport from Arua to Moyo.

Rehabilitation Ministry relief staff reported instances where, last month, they received 929 returnees who came down to Moyo from Limuro and Kala in southern Sudan on foot; and they did not have food to feed them. They reported that the spontaneous returnees had come back without food supplies and clothings. "In fact, many of them were barely naked," the staff said.

UNHCR field officer in Arua, Mr Thorne, said repatriation would have been much faster if there was a selective closure of the border on the part of the Sudanese authorities. The in-flow of the refugees trucks has also been hampered because UNHCR has not been allowed by the Sudan authorities to use the 30 trucks brought in Khartoum across the border.

UNHCR has then had to hire some 33 trailers from Kenya at 71,000 US dollars to bring in the returnees.

"We have had to break the cycle of dependence by telling returnees that they should expect relief during the first six months of their stay here, and thereafter, they should be able to fend for themselves," he said.

Returnees are provided with food, implements, seeds, soap, tarpaulin sheeting materials for putting up temporary shelters.

One of the young men who recounted their experiences, Sam Dromo, said the able-bodied ones walked 30-40 miles from the various resettlement camps they were at

to Limuro Reception Centre. "We started arriving at the centre two weeks ago. We were in groups of 2 to 10 people carrying a few of our household belongings, two sacks of sorghum.

Another young man, Philip Buga who had been working with a relief organisation in southern Sudan near Gole, said he had been attacked by SPLA rebels, robbed of all his possession and threatened to be killed.

They spared his life, ordering him to go and inform other Ugandan refugees to return home "because Ugandans had hampered their efforts in fighting the Sudan Government." They accused Ugandan refugees of providing food supplies to the Sudanese army, thus hampering their efforts in beating their enemies off.

Addressing returnees at both Koboko and Ombaci, the deputy Minister of Rehabilitation, Mr Deo Rwabiita, welcomed them back home, urging them to join the RCs in their respective villages. "RCs are the best method of governing yourselves. When you get settled join the RCs," he advised.

He told them to use the assistance which will be provided by aid agencies in making themselves self-reliant.

Use the implements to grow food for yourselves. Do not fold your hands in hope that aid agencies will continue giving you arms," he told them.

Mr Rwabiita told them the first returnees had performed well, and by now, foodstuffs sold in Arua market was being grown by them.

He urged parents to take their children for immunisation to prevent infant killer disease. "We can reduce a lot of diseases by immunising the children and keeping clean," he said.

He advised them to always seek the assistance of RCs in solving property ownership problems.

The UNHCR Representative in Uganda Mr Willie Young, told refugees at both centres that their repatriation would have been much earlier if it had not been due to a number of constraints.

Mr Young, however, assured the returnees of the UNHCR assistance to enable them fend for themselves.

He appreciated the work of aid agencies, like the German Emergency Doctors, Lutheran World Federation (IMF) and the NRA which had provided security for the returnees from the border to the reception centres.

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Over 1,500 Allegedly Detained at Luzira Prison
34000567a Kampala *THE CITIZEN in English*
30 Mar 88 p 1, 6

[Text] The population of 'lodgers' currently held in Luzira is ever expanding and currently there are 1,500-2,000 men lodgers alone at the prison. This includes people who were arrested from 1986 up to the beginning of March this year. At least 40 of the lodgers have died during this period and there are currently at least an equal number of minors held in the prison.

Gulu district with at least 285 has the greatest number of lodgers followed by Kigum (280). The others are from Apac (192), Bushenyi (3), Jinja (3) Kabale (4), Kampala (12), Kumi (48), Lira (131), Luwero (5), Mbarara (2), Mukono (12), Nebbi (20), Soroti (71), and Tororo (15).

Lodgers are persons held in government prison on unspecified charges and for unspecified reason. Most of the lodgers at Luzira are from the districts where armed insurgents are fighting against the government of Uganda led by President Yoweri Museveni.

According to our investigations these lodgers are treated exactly in the same way as other prisoners. Many of them have died due to overcrowding, diarrhoea, T.B., poor diet, inadequate medical care and torture. Among those so far reported to have died are Kosia Odur, Appolo Obwona, David Kitembo, Alex Oburu, Caetano Okeny, Mzee Ocaya, Lt. Col. Kilama, Sev Okello, Bosco Otto, George Abwola, D. Akema, Basulio Opoka, Lt. Ojok, Nicholas Okot, Mark Odong, Sam Owoko, Bosco Okello, Kavuma Lawrence and a good number of others.

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Explosives, Acid Stolen From Kilembe Mines
34000567 Kampala *THE NEW VISION in English*
12 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Mwine Mugisha in Kasese]

[Text] Six boxes of explosives and about 90 bottles of sulphuric acid have been stolen from the stores of Kilembe Mines Limited.

It is alleged that on 10 March 1988 unknown people climbed on the top of the underground store, removed iron sheets and broke into the store and made off with the six boxes of explosives out of 128 boxes which had just been stocked in a month before.

The underground store, is 100 metres away from the road barrier which is the entrance to Kilembe Mines complex and is heavily guarded by Kilembe Mines police. The mine recruits and trains its police and other internal security personnel.

Sources close to the acting Chief Security Officer Kilembe revealed that the duty security officer, who was supposed to be guarding the stores, was reportedly sick and he never reported or handed over the station to anybody else. Coincidentally, the patrol squad is said not to have worked that night.

Investigations carried out by THE NEW VISION revealed there are three doors before one gets into the store in which the explosive boxes and other assorted underground equipment are being kept.

This is the second time in twelve months for such explosives to be stolen from Kilembe Mines. Last year in April, 14 boxes of the same make of explosives were stolen and six employees of the Mines were held by the police and NRA, but were later released without explanation.

Surprisingly, however, sources close to the mines general manager's office, indicated that a letter allegedly issued by a security official instructed the management of the Mines to reinstate them. And, without explanation again, they were reinstated.

However, during his recent visit to the mines, the Minister of Water and Mineral Development, Mr Robert Kitariko, directed that the six suspects be dismissed and, further investigations be carried out.

The motive of the explosives' theft is unknown but it is suspected that they are being used to carry out robberies as was the case at Nyakatona Ginnery last September.

The Sulphuric acid is also said to be effective in killing elephants by poachers and gold testing by smugglers.

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6 June 1988